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**“Religiousness and Post-Release Community Adjustment”
Graduate Research Fellowship – Final Report
Melvina T. Sumter**

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

RELIGIOUSNESS AND POST-RELEASE COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT

By

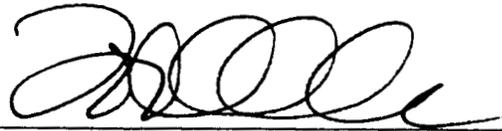
MELVINA T. SUMTER

A Dissertation submitted to the
School of Criminology and Criminal Justice
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctorate of Philosophy

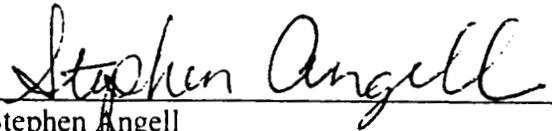
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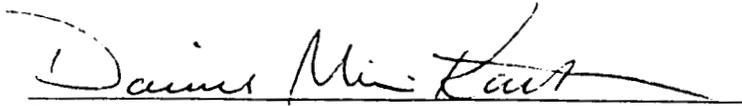


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ABSTRACT

Whereas numerous criminological studies investigate the impact of correctional programs on post-release community adjustment, to date, only a handful of published studies have examined the influence of religion as a means of managing the inmate population or as a key predictor for inmate recidivism. In spite of the fact that both religion and the prison have been subjected to considerable study, we know little about religion works in the prison setting. This study assesses the effect of inmate religiosity on post-release release community adjustment and investigates the circumstances under which these effects are most likely to take place.

This research is designed to explore the relationship between an inmate's religiousness and post-release community adjustment as measured by official FBI criminal history reports. The study is carried out by adding official criminal history information to an existing database collected by Clear et al. (1992) that studied the relationship between religion and a prisoner's adjustment to the correctional setting. The sample consists of 321 male inmates from twelve prisons scattered throughout the country.

Multivariate analyses indicate that being a young offender, having an extensive arrest history, and having a high level of self-esteem are significant predictors of

recidivism. Using logistic regression very little difference is found between the “religious” and “non-religious” inmates in overall reduction of recidivism. However, a relationship appears to exist between participation in religious programs and a belief in the supernatural and post-release community adjustment. Inmates who report high levels of participation in religious programs and report high levels of belief in the supernatural are less likely to be arrested after release regardless of whether they are classified as being “religious” or “non-religious.”

These findings provide evidence that religious programs are important in the prison setting and should be considered as a potential tool of rehabilitation. The findings do not provide support for making administrative decisions such as early release, parole release, work release advancement, or custody advance on the basis of an inmate’s claims of religiousness since this classification does not predict program success.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Chapter one gives an overview of the work examining religious practice among prisoners as a tool to manage behavior and as a predictor of recidivism. The chapter opens with a brief review of the social history of religion within the development of the United States penal system. After introducing the reader to the work examining the relationship between religion and prisoners, the problem statement, the current research, and the central research questions used to guide this research are discussed. Chapter one ends with a comment on the significance of this study.

Social History of Religion and the Development of the United States Penal Institution

Religion has long been an integral part of the criminal law, influencing law and punishments since ancient times (Woods and Waite, 1941). While it is not known exactly when incarceration was first used as a method of punishment, historical records indicate that during the middle ages, “punitive imprisonment appears to have been introduced into Europe....by the Christian Church in the incarceration of certain offenders against canon law” (Woods and Waite, 1941, pg. 488).

The influence of the Christian Church is also present in the United States penal process. Ever since the first penitentiary was built in the United States, religion has

played a principle role in the efforts of correctional professionals to reform offenders (Clear, 1991). The name itself “penitentiary,” is derived from “penitence, meaning “regret for wrongdoing or sinning.” Thus, penitentiaries were originally seen as places where offenders could go to atone for their sins.

Prior to the development of the penal institutions in the United States, religion pervaded all sects of life and colonial settlers believed that God caused crime and that He pre-determined some people to become criminals (Newman, 1985). As a result, the role of religion in sanctioning was influential and punitive; where the majority of punishments were found in the scriptures. Individuals who committed crimes were viewed as sinners who had made a pact with supernatural forces such as the devil, demons, or evil spirits (Newman, 1985). Thus, crime was equated with sin, and the response to it was revealed in the word of God, according to the dogma of Roman Catholicism (Woods and Waite, 1941). During this time, a major guiding principle of punishment was the notion of an eye for an eye, which is traced as far back as the Fourth Century A.D. and reached its peak during the period of the Holy Inquisition, which took place in most European countries in the 13th century (Newman 1985). In fact, the law of retaliation known as *lex talionis* is reflected in the Old Testament of the Holy Bible:

Leviticus 24:20 - Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, as he has caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again.

However, the New Testament of the Holy Bible spoke directly against retribution and called for the forgiveness of any man who lashed out against oneself. For example, Jesus is reported to have said:

Matthew 5:38 - Ye have heard that it had been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: But I say unto you, That Ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right check, turn to him the other also.

Despite this contrast in the New Testament, retribution remained the most dominant means of social control through the use of brutal punishments. These included branding, various forms of mutilation, public humiliation through the ducking stock (submergence in water until near drowning), whippings, and other means of torture (American Correctional Association 1983; Newman 1985). During this time, there were no correctional institutions or penitentiaries as we know them today. Instead, the prisons that were built were designed as temporary housing units, until the accused either confessed or appeared before a judge. These gruesome early practices eventually served as the catalyst for a powerful reform movement in the handling of crime and the administration of justice (Newman, 1985).

In response to these early methods of punishment, the penitentiary system in the United States originated under two distinct philosophies; a system of enforced solitude known as the Pennsylvania System and a system of congregate prison discipline known as the Auburn System.

The Pennsylvania System was derived from Quaker philosophy, which set out to implement humanistic and religious ideas in the prison. The Quakers did not believe that public punishment could reform the individual. Rather, they felt that it only served to facilitate the spirit of revenge and to increase criminal behavior (O'Connor and Parikh, 1996). The Quakers also believed that all people could obtain God's grace and that

institutions should be built where offenders might spend uninterrupted time contemplating their sins in pursuit of that grace. Thus, under the Quaker philosophy, the major goal of confinement was penance through required Bible reading and the reflection of one's sin (Clear and Cole, 1997; O'Connor and Parikh, 1996). As a result, the Quakers emphasized the importance of silent worship in allowing the spirit of God to develop and manifest itself in everyone (O'Connor and Parikh, 1996). Under the Quakers, the establishment of the penitentiary emphasized punishment as well as the rehabilitation of the offender through solitary confinement between intervals of work, the inculcation of good habits, and religious instructions so that the inmates could reflect on their moral obligations to society (Clear and Cole, 1997). For that reason, the early reformers viewed the move toward incarceration as an opportunity to rehabilitate the criminal, as well as to punish (Wright, 1987) and that only by removing the offender from the evils of society and enforcing a steady and regular regimen, could society turn the offender into a productive citizen (Clear and Cole, 1997; O'Connor and Parikh, 1996). This provided him with the opportunity to repent from his sins. Accordingly, the Pennsylvania system was a prison with complete solitude, "with labor in the cells and recreation in a private yard adjacent to each cell" (Morse, 1973, p. 23). While this notion of complete solitude seems somewhat simplistic, the concept of separate confinement was guided by the following principles outlined by Sellin (1970):

1. Prisoners should be treated not vengefully but in ways designed to convince them that through hard work and selective forms of suffering, they could change their lives.
2. Solitary confinement of all inmates would prevent the prison from becoming a corrupting influence. Presumably, when prisoners were isolated from each

other, they could not conspire and create plans that would bring trouble to the institution.

3. In their seclusion, offenders would have opportunities to reflect on their transgressions so that they might repent.
4. Because humans are by nature social beings, solitary confinement should also provide punishing discipline.
5. Solitary confinement would be more economical because prisoners would not need long periods of time to benefit from the penitential experience and fewer keepers would be required.

Because the Pennsylvania system proved to be very expensive and instead of rehabilitating offenders, in most cases it led to their insanity, as well as other social and behavioral problems, the Auburn System in New York originated as an alternative penal model (Sullivan, 1990). The Auburn System was often called "the congregate system." because prisoners were held in isolation at night but silently congregate in workshops during the day, forbidden to talk or even exchange glances while on the job or at meals (Clear and Cole, 1997). In this system, prisoners worked and ate in common areas although they were prohibited from any type of communication, including looking at each other (Clear and Cole, 1997). Strict discipline such as corporal punishment and solitary confinement were used to enforce the rule of silence as well as other rules. It is ironic that in order to enforce discipline in the Auburn System, prison officials returned to some of the cruel and harsh punishments the penal system was designed to eliminate. Even so, the Auburn model became the most dominant model of the United States prison systems since the prisoners were employed in workshops both as therapy and as a way to finance the institution, therefore, this system also proved to be more financially practical than the Pennsylvania System.

While the Pennsylvania system was an overly religious regime, the Auburn system also emphasized the importance of Christian spiritual experience. Prisoners attended church, met with chaplains, and were expected to study the Bible. The economical feasibility of the Auburn system was based on congregate work, but the reform of the prisoners was seen as deriving from a similar combination of productive labor, self-conscious contemplation, and succumbing to the imperatives of spiritual truth as the Pennsylvania system.

Religion has remained an important theme in the history of the American prison system. During the late 1950's, with the growth of the Black Muslim religion in prison and the Courts abandonment of the traditional hands-off policy and willingness to hear civil rights claims from prisoners regarding violations of their 1st Amendment guarantee to freedom of religious practice as well as violations of other constitutional rights, the issue of religious rights gained national attention (Clear and Cole, 1997). The beginning of this movement was spurred by the Black Muslim prisoners who under protection of the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of religious expression, demanded that they be given the same religious rights as Christian inmates. This group of inmates was initially denied recognition as a bona fide religion. However, in 1962, in *Fulwood v. Clemmer*, the courts ruled that Muslims have the same constitutional rights to practice their religion and to hold services as inmates of other faiths unless prison officials could demonstrate that such activities would pose a threat to institutional security (Krantz, 1976; Selke, 1993). The resolution of the Black Muslim constitutional religious rights meant the standards applied to them could also be applied to any duly recognized religion.

Consequently, this landmark decision paved the way for further court proceedings and clarification of religious rights of prisoners. One such example is that in 1972, in *Curz v. Beto*, the Supreme Court ruled Buddhist prisoners have the rights to observe their religion in a manner comparable to that of other religious groups (Krantz, 1976; Selke, 1993). Another example is the case of *Kahane v. Carlson*, where the courts ruled in 1975 that Orthodox Jewish inmates may not be denied a special diet unless prison officials can show cause why such a diet cannot be provided. As such, under protection of the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of religious expression, prison administrators are required to allow equal protection of all prisoners practicing their religious beliefs. These guarantees have resulted in the courts ruling that prisoners practicing their religious beliefs have the right to, (1) be served meals consistent with religious dietary laws; (2) special feeding times; (3) correspond with religious leaders and possess religious literature; (4) wear emblems and a beard if one's religious belief requires it; and (5) assemble for religious services as long as their religion can be established as a bona fide religion and it's practice does not present a security threat to the institution (Clear and Cole, 1997; Krantz, 1976; Selke, 1993).

In the more recent history of the American penal system, the importance of religion in the prison setting continues to be demonstrated as prisons provide routine weekly religious programs such as chaplaincy services, spiritual counseling, bible study, Sunday services, and visitation ministry. In addition, correctional agencies have opened their doors to such non-profit prison ministries as the Kairos, Jaycees, and Bible Believers Fellowship. These organizations provide services such as prison evangelism,

biblical instruction, spiritual growth program, pre-release counseling and support, aftercare and family assistance, and inmate correspondence programs.

A more widely known non-profit prison ministry is Prison Fellowship (PF) that attracts attention across the country and around the world, encompassing organizations in more than 83 countries was found in 1976 by Charles W. Colson, following his release from prison after serving sentence for a "Watergate" related crime. Prison Fellowship is a non-profit volunteer organization, which assists the Church in its ministry to prisoners, ex-prisoners, victims, and those affected by crime. The continued importance of religion in the prison setting was demonstrated in 1997, when PF implemented a Faith-Based Pre-Release Program called "Inner Change" Pre-release Program in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice. This initiative resulted from a mandate by the Senate Committee of Criminal Justice Interim Report which directed the Texas Department of Criminal Justice to develop a rehabilitation tier of programs that would be evaluated based on its success in reducing recidivism. This Faith-Based Pre-Release Program, "Inner-Change," emphasizes restorative justice, in which the offender works to restore himself, the community, the victims, and his family.

Thus, the history of the prison is very much a history of religious activity in the correctional setting. The expectation is that the reform of the offender requires a change in the spirit, and the religious experience is the doorway to that change. While this is a popular conception of the role of religion in prison. The question becomes, how much do we really know about the degree to which religion serves this function, in practice?

Relevant Work Examining the Relationship Between Religion and Prisoners

During the twentieth century there has been much speculation by scholars in the United States about the impact of religion on prisoners. Despite this interest, to date, only three studies (Clear, Stout, Dammer, Kelly, Hardyman, and Shapiro, 1992; Johnson, 1984; Johnson, Larson, and Pitts, 1997) have examined the effect of religious participation on institutional adjustment and the commitment of infractions within the prison, and only one of these (Johnson et al., 1997) have examined the effect of participation in prison religious programs on prison or post-release re-arrest rates. While the study by Johnson (1984) failed to find any identifiable impact of religious activity on prison adjustment, the study by Clear et al. (1992) found that a prisoner's religious participation had a significant and positive relationship to prison adjustment. Further, Clear et al. (1992) found that age interacts with religious participation in a way that may explain Johnson's earlier failure to find such an impact. A later study by Johnson et al. (1997) found that the level of participation in prison fellowship influenced institutional adjustment. This study also found that prisoners who attended the series of seminars sponsored by the prison fellowship groups of Washington, D.C., ultimately had lower recidivism rates than a statistical control group released during the same time period.

Although few in numbers, these studies suggest that it may be worth continuing the investigation of the impact of religious involvement on prisoners in order to determine the potential benefits of religious programs in terms of their capacity to influence behavior. It is clear, that no study has yet looked at the general impact of

religious participation in a systematic manner. Thus, it remains to be determined whether inmates who participate in general religious programs and not just special seminars such as those Johnson studied, do better upon release than others who do not.

Statement of Problem

Since the demise of rehabilitation and emergence of the conservative crime control model during the 1970s, based on studies popularly thought to prove that "nothing works," there has been a sharp decline on emphasis and funding for rehabilitative programs for offenders in the United States prisons. While religious activities was one of the few programming efforts that survived this devolution of treatment intact, the impact of religious programming on post-release community adjustment has been virtually unstudied (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson, 1984; O'Connor, 1995; Young, Gartner, Larson, and Wright, 1995) and likewise underutilized in the correctional setting as an effective means of rehabilitation or inmate management (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson, 1984; O'Connor 1995).

In Prichard's 1979 literature review religion was not included as an independent variable among twenty-three potential predictors of recidivism. Johnson's 1984 review of pertinent literature found that the majority of empirical studies deal with juvenile delinquency, base data on self-reports and percentage comparisons, failed to investigate religious involvement or commitment as a means of rehabilitation, and did not investigate religious involvement among adult prison inmates. In 1990, Gartner, O'Connor, Larson, Young, Wright, and Rosen conducted a systematic review of the literature of empirical studies in order to examine the relationship between rehabilitation and adult recidivism.

Their findings indicated that religious variables were not considered “major” indicators in these studies and when they were used, it was in a peripheral fashion such as denoting denominational affiliation. Later, Young, et al. (1995), documented that, in Martinson’s heavily cited review of 231 rehabilitation studies from 1945 to 1967, religion was not mentioned as a rehabilitative intervention nor was religion mentioned in a previous review of one hundred studies by Bailey in 1966. A more recent review of the research literature by Sumter and Clear (1998) found that out of twenty-three studies examining the relationship between religion and deviance, only three explored this relationship among the prison population.

It is also the case that the few studies of religion in prison contexts measure religion as a dummy variable, “yes” or “no.” Yet contemporary views on religion emphasize the complexity of the phenomenon, generally referring to it as a multidimensional ordinal construct by the use of “levels” of various “dimensions” of religiousness. Therefore, the few current studies of religion in prison can be seen as promising though unsophisticated.

Among the numerous criminological studies investigate the impact of correctional program participation on post-release community adjustment, to date, only a handful of published studies have examined the influence of religion as a means of managing the inmate population or as a key predictor for inmate recidivism. Consequently, adequate research efforts have not been devoted to examining the impact of religious programming on prison adjustment, much less on post-release community adjustment.

The Current Study

This study is an extension of the study by Clear et al. (1992) that examined the relationship between prisoners, prisons and religion, and found that a prisoner's religious participation has a significant effect on prison adjustment. Here, official FBI criminal reports are added to the existing database for the two earlier cohorts. This study evaluates whether the level of an inmate's religiousness is associated with his later adjustment to community living as measured by re-arrest rates. The presence of intervening factors that mediate the influence of an inmate's post-release community adjustment is also assessed. The main research question is, "Does an inmate's religiousness influence post-release community adjustment?"

Central Research Questions

1. Are post-release re-arrest rates related to an inmate's participation in religious worship and study?
2. If this is found to be true, what type of effect does religiousness have on favorable post-release community adjustment?
3. How do the religion dimensions of inmate religiosity influence post-release community adjustment?

Significance of the Study

This study assesses the influence of a prisoner's religiousness on post-release community adjustment and the circumstances under which these effects are most likely to occur. It also addresses several general problems identified in the literature by, (1) investigating general religious involvement of adult prison inmates; (2) utilizing a significant sample size using actual behavioral measures of religion and deviance rather

than simply relying on self-report measures of post-release community adjustment; and (3) employing a more rigorous application of statistical controls based upon theoretical considerations and prior research. The results of this study supplement the current body of literature which identifies key outcome predictors that contribute to favorable post-release community adjustment. Finally, the results of this study may offer policy makers and correctional administrators with empirical research findings, rather than partisan politics or untested theories, to guide their decision making in determining the relative value of administering and operating religious programs in correctional institutions.

CHAPTER 2

RELIGION AND THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE IN PRISON

This chapter presents an overview of the significance of religion and the religious experience in prison settings. It begins with a discussion of the complexities involved in defining religion and then summarizes the six dominant world religions. Following this the reader is introduced to seven dimensions of religion and their application to the six dominant world religions. There is then a discussion of the religious orientation and experience in prison. This chapter ends with a discussion of the religion dimensions in prison.

The Meaning of Religion

What is religion? What does it mean to be a religious person? We as individuals in our attempts to conceptualize a definition of religion, often develop a simplistic, unidimensional definition based upon our socialization, familiar culture, and/or spiritual affiliation. Moreover, Westerners limit their definitions of religion to western theology and rarely include other world affiliations. Although a definition of religion can reflect on one particular viewpoint, academics define it several ways to emphasize distinctive dimensions.

The English word, religion, is derived from the Latin word *religio*, which refers to the fear or awe one feels in the presence of a spirit or God (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Hopfe and Woodard (1998, pg. 4) write that “in western culture religion is defined in terms of a set of beliefs having to do with the gods through which one is taught a moral system.” The authors state that this definition contains elements found within many of the world religions, although, it does not adequately define religion for all of them. For example, some religions and particularly eastern religions (i.e., Confucianism) recognize the existence of gods, but they have very little to do with them and then there are others that do not recognize gods at all. Cunningham, Kelsay, Barineau, and McVoy (1995) state that the definitional question regarding what constitutes a religion is controversial because the phenomenon is complex, and related to a variety of aspects of existence. Religion is not an isolated aspect of human experience but relates closely to thought, feelings and actions, to the concerns of the individual and social existence, and to the expression and recognition of values (Cunningham et al., 1995). As a result, “definitions of religion must therefore not only refer to the ways religion helps human beings but also respond to difficult problems” (Cunningham et al., 1995, pg. 18). Thus, Cunningham et al. (1995) maintain that an adequate definition of religion should always deal with substance and identify what it is that makes certain responses to suffering and death religious and others not.

Houf (1935) argues that there is no definition of religion that is generally accepted as authoritative. In the “*Varieties of Religious Experience*” William James (1936) proposed that because there are so many definitions of the word religion, we should learn

that the whole concept is too large for any one definition to fit all. He says, "the word 'religion' cannot stand for any single principle or essence, but is rather a collective name. ... Let us rather admit freely at the outset that we may very likely find no one essence, but many characters which may alternately be equally important to religion" (James, 1936, pg. 27).

From the point of view of these religious scholars, it is apparent, then, that it is difficult to develop a definition that is representative of all traditions. Despite the variability in these definitions, Yinger (1946), argues that they share some common elements and that our concern should be with all religions. Moreover, while there is not a consensus of a suitable definition of religion, there is a general agreement that the different religions have many common elements. Religions in general teach that this physical and material world is not the only reality and that there is something greater than the here and now, a purpose more profound than mere just survival (Breuilly, O'Brien, and Palmer, 1997; Yinger, 1946). According to Yinger (1946) each religion, (1) has a set of general beliefs or principles concerning the meaning of life; (2) emphasizes the type of behavior that is acceptable and provides guidelines for its adherents to live by; (3) encourages rituals and practices associated with general beliefs (4) has a set of writings or sacred scriptures to guide its adherents; (5) has a group of leaders to teach and guide its adherents; and (6) encourages a growth pattern among its adherents to improve themselves in this life.

Below, an overview of the six dominant world religions is outlined in order to summarize their doctrines and to identify some of the common elements they share.

Particular attention is paid to the historical development of each religion; its God or divine source, most notable leader, sacred text or writings, and religious teachings.

The Six Major World Religions

The six major world religions are Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Whereas these distinct religions each reflect a particular image of the culture in which they first arose, they also have common dimensions which are crucial in constructing operational definitions to measure religion and developing a theoretical model to understand the relationship between religiousness and behavior.

Hinduism

Hinduism is probably the oldest of the world religions. It has primarily influenced India and it has not diffused to other societies as Christianity and Islam have (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). According to Hopfe and Woodard (1998) the origins of Hinduism can be traced to the third millennium BC, a period when early adherents worshiped numerous major and minor gods. The most important god, Brahman, is considered the ultimate reality (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Brahman is further divided into three gods, (1) Brahana the creator; (2) Shiva the destroyer; and (3) Vishu the preserver. The development of Hinduism is not linked to the life of a single charismatic person, but has been replete with many great teachers and leaders. The best known Hindu reformer is Mohatma Gandhi, who lived from 1869 until 1948 and is known for his work in bringing political and social benefits to Indian people near the end of British rule (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The oldest sacred books of Hinduism are the Vedas. These contain the

early philosophical statements that became the reasoned doctrine for Hinduism (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The exact dates of the sacred writings is debated by scholars, with some claiming that the Vedic hymns may have been developed before 2000 BC, and others contending that they were written between 1500 and 400 BC (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The Vedic books consist of four sections, each containing the Upanishads: (1) the Rig-Veda which means “knowledge” or “sacred”; (2) the Yajur-Veda which means “knowledge of rites”; the Sama-Veda which means “knowledge of chants”; and (4) the Atharva-Veda which means “knowledge given by the sage Atharva” (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Central to Hinduism is the concept of *Karma*, a Sanskrit word introduced in the Upanishads meaning belief in the spiritual progress of each person’s soul (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, Voss, 1968). Another important concept introduced in the Upanishads, is the concept of *samsara*, which means “to wander across” (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss 1968). According to Hopfe and Woodard (1998, pg. 90) “the Indian thinkers came to believe that every action and every thought had its consequence, marking the individual internally, in which the effects were felt in this life as well as in succeeding lives.” Thus, for the early thinkers there was the belief that every human action has a direct spiritual consequence in which proper living causes moral improvement while improper living results in moral decline (Breuilly et al., 1997; Voss, 1968). So, a goal is to break the cycle of Karma and samsara in order to be freed from the burden of life into a state called Moksha (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Moreover, the early thinkers believed that the life force of an individual does not

die with the death of a body, but instead “wanders across” eternally (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Thus, according to the Indian thinkers, the idea is to distance oneself from Karma or either to accumulate more positive Karma than negative Karma, so one can eventually break from the cycles of birth and death and to achieve Moksha, which is the complete union with God (Breuilly et al., 1997). Hence, unlike the religions of Christianity and Islam, Hinduism proclaims no ultimate justice at the hands of a supreme god, but through the cycle of rebirth, each person is believed to reap exactly what is sown (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Hinduism points out three ways to Salvation. First, is the “Way of Works” or Karma Marga, which requires sacrifices and rites to earn merits to guarantee that an individual who performs more good deeds than bad would have the highest form of reincarnation in the next life. Second, is the “Way of Knowledge” or Jnana Marga which teaches that ignorance causes evil and misery and through studying the sacred writing, practicing the discipline of Yoga, and meditating intensively on Brahman, one is spared both suffering and evil. Third, is the “Way of Devotion” or Bhatki Marga, which is a means to assure salvation, a process which demands self-dedication and loving devotion to the Gods. According to Voss (1968), these three ways lead to a fourth way, the “Way of Concentration,” which enables an individual to be free of conscious and unconscious thought and thus to ultimately become the real self that is identical to the all-soul, Brahman.

Buddhism

Buddhism began in India in the sixth century BC being influenced by the religion of Hinduism (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Unlike Hinduism,

Buddhism “rejected the authority of the Vedas and the caste system and offered a version of salvation based on individual effort” (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, pg. 136). Moreover, unlike Hinduism, Buddhism teaches that any person of caste or sex can find the same enlightenment the Buddha knew (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Buddhism like Hinduism is based on the conception of a highly ordered moral universe without a high god, and the belief in the process of individual spiritual development over many lifetimes (Schumann, 1974; Thomas, 1975). Buddhism was found by a man name Siddhartha Gautama who was born to a high-caste Indian family, but by the age twenty-nine his preoccupation with spiritual matters led him to a radical personal transformation (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1942; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Gautama spent many years trying to understand the cause of suffering and the way to end it (Breuilly et al., 1997). After years of travel and meditation, Gautama reached what the Buddhist describes as bodhi, or enlightenment (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). To the Buddhists, all existence is suffering and they believe that human joy is merely transitory. This belief emerged in Buddha’s own travels within a society rife with poverty in which during his quest for spiritual peace, the Buddha rejected all forms of material pleasure and prayed and meditated consistently (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). After he failed to find enlightenment from extreme asceticism or indulgence, the Buddha taught that neither is acceptable as a way of life and that one should avoid extremes and seek a middle way (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). According to Voss, like Hinduism, Buddhism accepts the law of karma and the transmigration of beings and

claims that each subsequent life reflects the spiritual state of previous lives. Moreover, the person who attains full enlightenment ceases to be reborn since this is the only way one can be liberated from the suffering of the world (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Buddhism also shares with Hinduism the belief that day-to-day human acts have spiritual consequences and that every human activity is either wholesome, leading to spiritual improvement, or unwholesome, resulting in spiritual decline (Breuilly et al., 1997; Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). The Buddha taught that “if a man altered his ways, experiences a change of heart which brings forth new directions and objectives, he will not have visited upon him the penalty for sins he committed in an earlier existence” (Voss, 1968, pg. 61). Voss states that at the heart of Buddhism is good will, benevolence, and compassion for all men. For adherents of Buddhism, in order for a man to break the bonds that tie him to the wheel of existence and achieve the state of ‘nirvana,’ or ultimate freedom, the Buddha stated that man must lift the “ten fetters.” These are, (1) the belief in the existence of the self; (2) the removal of doubt; (3) the trust in ceremonies of good works; (4) the recession from lust; (5) the retreat from anger; (6) the desire of rebirth in worlds of form; (7) the desire of rebirth in formless worlds; (8) the removal of pride; (9) the removal of self-righteousness; and (10) the removal of ignorance (Voss, 1968).

Confucianism

Confucianism began about 200 B.C. and eventually became the official religion of China until around 1949 when the religion was weakened by the communist revolution (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). As in the case of Hinduism, the close

association between religious thought and a single society resulted in little diffusion of the religion beyond the society's borders (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Confucianism is largely shaped by one person, K'ung-Fu-tzu, known to Westerners as Confucius who was born in 551 BC in the state of Lu to an aristocratic family who had lost their wealth and position in society (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Confucius believed that although the gods exist, and worship and rituals are of value, these practices are of secondary importance to a code of moral living (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Without a clear concept of the sacred, Confucianism is arguably not a religion at all but rather a disciplined study of Chinese cultural history (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). In other words, Confucius taught that personal salvation can be attained by living within the world according to specific principles of moral conduct, Chinese cultural based on central themes (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Of central importance is the theme represented by the word *li* translated as "proprietal," "rites," "ceremonies," or courts. These represent the course of life as it is intended to go (Voss, 1968). Voss writes that the principle of *li* is the outward expression of the superior individual toward others in society. The inward expression of Confucianism is *Jen* which is translated as "love," goodness, or human-heart, which means that morality should always take precedence over self-interest (Voss, 1968). This is especially true within the family, but in all things individuals' lives should reflect loyalty and concern for others moreso than themselves (Voss, 1968). From this personal loyalty arise strong families are the basis social solidarity (Voss, 1968). Unlike Jesus and the Buddha, Confucius did not direct attention to the future and away from this world; instead, he

taught that moral living is based on studying the past and living in the present (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968).

Judaism

Judaism, believed to have originated about 586 BC is a world religion of the Jewish people, the majority whom live in North America with the remainder divided between Europe and the Middle East (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Like Confucianism, Judaism is eminently historical, with the past regarded as a source of guidance for the present and the future (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). A distinctive element of Judaism is the covenant, a special relationship with God by which Jews became the “chosen people” (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975). A key element of the covenant is law, centering on the Ten Commandments as revealed to Moses by God (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Gaer (1952) and Hopfe and Woodard (1998) write that the unifying feature among all Jews is the belief in one God who works in and through historical events, who chose the Jewish people as his agents. According to the Bible, written in the book of Genesis, God chose to communicate with one man by the name of Abraham and his descendants (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Judaism is recorded as being one of the first religions to shift from animism and polytheism toward Monotheism, a belief in one God, who is called Yahweh (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Yahweh requires obedience and loyalty to himself and decent behavior toward all members of the community (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). The Jews regard the Bible (more specifically, the Old Testament), as their sacred text, presenting

both their history and the laws which they must follow. Of special importance is the first five books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy), designated as the *Torah*, considered the voice of Yahweh (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Among the required tenets of Judaism is the circumcision of the male, the keeping of the Sabbath day as a part of worship, following purity laws, and observance of the commandments (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975). While there are a number of commandments observed by the Jews, the ten commandments or Mitzvah are considered the absolute ten laws provided by Yahweh to Moses on Mount Sinai (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). These absolute laws, inscribed on stone, strengthen the covenant between Yahweh and his chosen people (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). These ten commandments are found in Exodus 20: 1-17 and in Deuteronomy 5:6-21 and may be summarized as follows (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, pg. 255):

1. You shall have no other gods before me.
2. You shall not make any graven image.
3. You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain.
4. Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.
5. Honor your father and your mother.
6. You shall not kill.
7. You shall not commit adultery.
8. You shall not steal.
9. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor.
10. You shall not covet your neighbor's property.

Christianity

Christianity is probably the largest world religion. It began as a sect of Judaism in the First Century (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The original group of Christians were

Jewish by background and recognized one God as the Supreme being (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975). The religion of Christianity has a unique view of the Supreme Being as the sacred Trinity: God the Father, the Creator; Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer; and the Holy Spirit, a Christian's personal experience of God's presence (Rosten, 1975; Voss, 1968). Like the adherents of Judaism, the early Christians continued to worship in the Jewish Temple and regarded the Holy Bible as their sacred text (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). The only thing that distinguished them from other Jews was their belief that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God sent to redeem human society for an everlasting life (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Also, important to the existence of Christianity is the belief that Jesus is the Son of God who was crucified in Jerusalem during the reign of Pontius Pilate but was resurrected from the dead (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). The life and history of Jesus was documented orally until about 40 years after his death when in books called the Gospels were written (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). These Gospels portray Jesus as the fulfillment of the Hebrew Bible prophecy of a "Messiah" sent by God to save man from sin (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975; Voss, 1968). All of the Gospels document Jesus as "a worker of miracles who (1) healed the sick, the blind and the lame; (2) fed the hungry; (3) raised the dead; (4) cast out demons; and (5) walked upon the waters" (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, pg. 308). The Gospels also records that Jesus often quoted the Hebrew scriptures in his teaching and is most remembered for his use of a teaching device called the parable (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Among Jesus teaching is "his concern with human values,

warning people about the peril's of riches and preaching compassion among humans” (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, pg. 308). The early church modeled its worship after the forms used in the Jewish synagogue, but added the ritual of Baptism to its worship which comes from the Greek word baptizein, “to immerse” which eventually came to be understood as a means to wash away original sin (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975). Another addition to the early church according to Hopfe and Woodard (1998) and Rosten (1975) is the Eucharist, adopted from Jesus’ last supper with his disciples the evening before his death. The Bible of the early church is that of the Hebrew tradition, but it now includes the New Testament which records the first split between Judaism and Christianity (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The non-Jews were accepted into the ministry without the benefit of being circumcised or adopting the Kosher food laws (Breuilly et al., 1975; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975; Voss, 1968). According to Hopfe and Woodard (1998, pg. 301) “Christianity holds that believers have one life which determines their destiny for life after death.” This destiny is usually through to be either be an eternity of bliss in heaven or an eternity of unrest in hell (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998).

Islam

Islam considered to be the world’s second largest religion, began in the 7th Century (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Adherents of the Islamic faith believe in only one God who is called Allah, the same God worshiped by the Jews and Christians (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Islam is the dominant religion in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The primary

teaching of Islam is based on the life of Muhammad, a Prophet or one who “speaks for God” (Breuilly et al., 1997; Voss, 1968), not a divine being, as Jesus is regarded by Christians (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). It is believed that Allah made himself known through other prophets during earlier periods, but, his best and final revelation is to the Prophet Muhammad (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Muhammad is documented to have been born about 570 AD as a fatherless child and his mother died by the time he reached the age six (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Therefore, he was raised as an orphan and did not have the opportunity to receive any type of formal education. “The Islamic tradition makes much of the fact that he was illiterate, accordingly, Muhammad’s inspiration came like a sounding bell (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998, pg. 359).” After a series of revelations, Muhammad became convinced that there is only one God and that he is the last of a series of prophets which included Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, among others (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). For Muhammad, the earlier prophets’ revelation from Allah were incomplete, but his is the complete and final revelation of Allah (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). As did the classical Hebrew prophets, Muhammad, understood that his mission was to present the word of Allah to his people (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The sacred text of Islamic faith is the Qur’an, which teaches that through submission to Allah, an individual finds inner peace (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad memorized the contents of these divine messages and taught them to his companions who eventually committed to writing the scriptures (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). The scriptures of the Jews and Christians are respected by Islam, but the Qur’an is considered

eternal, absolute, irrevocable and complete. (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Because the Qur'an is considered the word of God, its messages became the authority as to how God expects people to live and the eternal destiny of humankind. In the Qur'an, Allah is revealed as the one Sovereign God over the entire universe who demands strict monotheism and requires His adherents to say every day "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger" (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Friday is declared by Muhammad as a special day of Islamic worship. Muslims are required to pray at a Mosque with fellow Muslims (Breuilly et al., 1997). The prayer is not led by a priest, but by an Iman who is a community member, chosen because of his reputation as a knowledgeable and pious man (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). In order to be a good Muslim, followers are directed to adhere to the five pillars which are to, (1) repeat the creed, (2) pray daily, (3) seek social justice, (4) fast during the month of Ramadan, and (5) journey at least once to Mecca (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Voss, 1968). Islam teaches that a person has only one life to live and how he lives his life determines how his eternal existence will be spent (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Moreover, like many other religions, Islam claims that all people are accountable to God for their deeds on earth and that those who live obediently will be rewarded in heaven, while unbelievers will suffer infinite punishment (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998).

Seven Dimensions of Religion

Just as there is a difficulty in attempting to trace the development of spiritual traditions, there is just as much complexity as well as diversity in identifying the

universal dimensions of religion. According to Glock (1973, pg. 10), “investigators have tended to focus upon one or another of the diverse manifestations of religiosity and to ignore others.” He contends that in one study, attention is confined to studying religious beliefs, whereas, in another study the focus may be on studying different religious practices. W. Richard Comstock refers to five methodological perspectives on religion; the psychological, the sociological, the historical, the phenomenological, and the hermeneutical (Carmody and Carmody, 1984). Niniam Smart (1983) identifies six dimensions of religion; the experiential, the mythic, the doctrinal, the ethical, the ritual, and the social. Robert S. Ellwood (1978) divides religion into the self, history, psychology, symbol and rite, sociology, truth, and conceptual expression. Likewise, from a sociological perspective, Charles Glock (1973) identifies five dimensions of religion; the experiential, the ritualistic, the ideological, the intellectual, and the consequential.

An examination the major religions of the world shows that doctrines of religious expression are extremely varied; moreover, the different religions expect quite different things of their adherents (Gaer, 1952; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Yinger, 1946). Despite this great variation of detail, there however, exists among the world religions considerable consensus regarding the more general areas in which religion ought to be manifested (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995, Yinger, 1946). According to Comstock (1995), these general areas may be thought of as the core dimensions of religion. After reviewing religious research and scholarly literature on religions, Comstock (1995) identified seven distinct dimensions of religion (e.g., Transcendence, History, Belief, Ritual, Morality, Community and Personal Identity), that are recognized

and considered by most scholars of religion to be representative of the dominant world religions. Comstock states that although these dimensions are distinct, they are closely intertwined and express the meaning of religion. Because these dimensions are characteristic of all major world religions as well as those which may have been rejected by mainstream society, in this study, they serve as operational definitions to measure religion.

Transcendence or Supernatural

Transcendence is the dimension of religion that differentiates religious and non-religious rituals and beliefs, while distinguishing the sacred from the profane (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995; Durkheim, 1915; Hopfe and Woodard 1998). For some scholars, the transcendence is also a characteristic of religion that in one way or another, includes the concept of the supernatural, “the extraordinary,” “the infinite,” or the power manifesting itself in the universe (Comstock, 1995). Titiev (1954, pg. 395-396) advises labeling something supernatural suggests that “it can never be made manifest to human taste, touch, smell, sight, or hearing, even with the aid of devices like powerful telescopes or sound amplifiers.” He goes on to state that the very core of religion entails believing wholeheartedly in the existence of something that cannot and may never be grasped by one’s senses. Man is not able to scientifically determine the characteristics of the supernatural, nor to determine whether or not the supernatural exists independent of his definitions (Titiev, 1954). Therefore, Titiev (1954) contends that a great multiplicity of concepts about the supernatural are observable in various cultures throughout the world. For example, the religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are characterized by the

present notion of sacred reality as “going beyond” our “ordinary existence” (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995). These authors write that it is difficult to think of these religions without the notion of an all-wise, all powerful God, who reigns eternally and surpasses human understanding. Cunningham et al. (1995, pg. 30) illustrate an example from the Holy Bible in the Chapter of Isaiah 55:8-9 which expresses this sentiment well:

For my thoughts are not your thoughts. Neither are your ways my ways, declared the Lord. For all heavens are higher than earth, so are my ways higher than your ways and my thoughts than your thoughts.

Another example provided by the authors is from the Islamic tradition which is found in the Qur'an which exhorts that:

Say. He is Allah, the one! Allah, the eternally besought. He begetteth nor was begotten. And there is none comparable to him.

History

According to Comstock (1995), religions, like our lives, follow a course, a trajectory, or path through history from one point to another. Religious traditions develop over time and come to constitute traditions that may be identified with the history of a particular community (Comstock, 1995). Prior to birth, the group has already established the languages the members will speak, the type of clothing they will wear, the ways available for them to make a living, the types of foods they will eat, the type of supernatural being or beings to worship, and how that worship will take place (O'Dea, 1966). The family, society, and culture have already developed the blueprint members are expected to follow in their religious behavior. The religious social heritage and behavior of man is thus acquired and learned from his culture. Individuals are taught

certain religious patterns, such as how to participate in religious activities, how to communicate with the divine being(s), or how to go through the prescribed rituals and ceremonies (O'Dea, 1966). This foundation serves as the trajectory the youth passes through to adulthood. While it is true that some adults adopt religions different from their upbringing, it is also true that most individuals remain with the same religion throughout their life course.

Belief

According to Comstock (1995), it is not enough to believe that the supernatural exists in order to have religion. He (1995) notes that the members of society must also believe in the doctrine of the religion. Upon awareness of this existence, the individual's life is influenced and he/she eventually accepts the beliefs and ideas that are passed down through tradition. Likewise, bodies of belief concerning the sacred and the supernatural are transmitted to new individuals as a part of their culture. Thus, religious beliefs are ideas that adherents hold to be true, which sanctify norms of conduct, and supply their ultimate justification (O'Dea, 1966). Moreover, religion is characterized by a body of beliefs that provide supernatural and sacred definitions for its followers (Comstock, 1995).

Ritual

Rituals are activities that people perform in accordance with formal or informal rules or customs that reinforce a commitment to their religious values (Cunningham et al., 1995). Likewise, according to Comstock (1975) and Cunningham et al. (1995), rituals are regularly patterned acts that are imbued with sacred meanings that express the beliefs

of their religious doctrine. These rituals, the authors argue, are the most visible dimension of religion because the activities often include public and group activities. For many religious followers, rituals are an attempt to influence the sacred, as well as express and reinforce a commitment of their beliefs (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995). Moreover, a rite transcends the bonds of the individual private religious experience into a collective experience of individuals with shared values and beliefs (Paden, 1992). For Durkheim (1915), the most important function of the ritual is to renew the foundation of society itself; the ritual serves to reinforce the "life" of religious beliefs. Also, religious rites elicit the acting out of sentiments, which in turn strengthens the fundamental norms and values of society, thereby reinforcing them in the consciousness of its adherents (O'Dea, 1966). For example, the Islamic law requires prayer; an observant Muslim faces toward Mecca five times daily and prays to express commitment to his religious doctrine (Cunningham et al., 1995; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). Another example is the Christian practice of receiving Holy Communion (Breuilly et al., 1997; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Rosten, 1975). This sacrament represents the central beliefs regarding Jesus' mission, death, and resurrection. During Jesus' time a shared meal signified peace, trust, and community solidarity (Hopfe and Woodard, 1998). According to Hopfe and Woodard (1998), today the term communion denotes a very similar meaning; a sharing of thoughts and emotions; often simply conceived as fellowship or community.

Morality

Religious doctrine provides life prescriptions that adherents are expected to abide by in this world, as well as those things a person must do or avoid in order to attain

(Comstock 1995). Followers of religious traditions are taught to accept certain behavioral patterns as being in harmony with their religion, whereas others are not (O'Dea, 1966). Those who share common religious beliefs and practices also share common values and come to accept common definitions as to what is good and what is bad (O'Dea, 1996). Through religious teaching, societal members are apprised as to what is good or correct by referring to religious sources such as the Vedas (for Hindus), the Torah (for Jews), the Holy Bible (for Christians) or the Qur'an (for Muslims). Moreover, religion sancarnazies the norms and values established by society, thus maintaining the dominance of group goals and disciplines over individual impulses and wishes (O'Dea 1966). Thus, Cunningham et al. (1995) maintain that the greatest strength of religion is its ability to provide sanctions for moral behavior.

Community or Society

Religion shared by a group of people in every aspect is systematically shown to be an expression of the collective life (Paden 1992). Central to Durkheim's (1915) functionalist analysis of religion is that religious beliefs and practices operate jointly to bond members into an integrated community. For Durkheim (1915), religion is society, therefore, he maintains that each society constructs religion around its horizon. In other words, all that we know about obligations, loyalty, respect and moral behavior is learned from society and our relationship to religious symbols simply mirror these societal relations (Cunningham et al., 1998; Paden, 1992). Durkheim argued that for many societies, religion is a collective expression of what they believe society is, how it is governed, how they relate to it, and what it's sanctions are. Only society, can evoke

religious attitudes and the sort of moral sentiments societal members are expected to uphold. For that reason, the functionalists view religion as a sort of “glue” which holds society together (Glock, 1973). Therefore, the explicit content of religious ideas is not important, because religion expresses sociological, not theological, reality. As a result, only religion is considered to be the ultimate source of human action and social stability, while providing answers to the ultimate questions that motivate men (Parsons, 1958; Davis 1948). According to Durkheim (1915), failure to achieve religious solidarity threatens the entire society, leading to social disorganization and collapse. Nottingham (1954) contends that the very process of sharing “beliefs” and “rituals” tend to strengthen the group’s sense of identity, thus accentuating the groups “we” feeling.

Personal Identity

According to Cunningham et al. (1995), most of the major religions make a place for individual decisions and encourage adherents to search for unity with their supreme being. Some religious scholars and sociologists (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995; Glock, 1972; Hopfe and Woodard, 1998; Houf, 1935; Parsons 1958) claim that religion provides answers to our questions concerning the meaning of our relations to others, existence, happiness and suffering, and good and evil. Thus, religion provides the individual with a sense of purpose and meaning in life, since it alone has the means of grasping what is beyond the natural world. Religion also provides adequate responses to questions about suffering, injustice, and evil in human experiences (Durkheim, 1915; Glock, 1973; O’Dea, 1966; Parsons, 1958). Therefore, religion provides people with a sense of security, a feeling of acceptance and belonging, and a source of psychological

support during the most trying times of a person's life (O'Dea, 1966). Although, Durkheim (1915, pg. 387) emphasizes the social phenomenon of religion, he recognizes that religion "gives the believer impressions of comfort and dependence," moreover, "the believer who has communicated with his god ... is a man who is stronger." He feels within him more force, either to endure the trials of existence, or to conquer them" (Durkheim, 1915, pg. 416), thereby, leading to the growth and maturation of the individual and his passage through various age grading processes identified by his society (O'Dea, 1966). Thus, "religion provides through its sanctification and renewal of basic norms, a strategic basis for social control in the face of deviant tendencies and the expression of impulses dangerous to the stability of society" (O'Dea, 1966, pg. 13). Moreover, religious beliefs and practices facilitate the spiritual development of the individual, which in turn, increases his self-awareness, providing him with a sense of inner peace and the purpose and existence for his/her life. In like manner, religion convinces man that he/she needs salvation and prescribes a path to achieve this salvation by sustaining good relations with the supernatural or inner spirit.

The Religious Experience in Prison

Johnson's review of the literature (1984), revealed that most writings on the topic of religion and prison have been merely anecdotal descriptions by former chaplains and inmates. Although both religion and the prison have each been topics of considerable writing, we know very little about the way religion works in prison. The most comprehensive body of information documenting why inmates seek religion in prison was completed by Clear et al. in 1992.

Clear et al. (1992) studied 20 prisons from 12 states located throughout the United States. The researchers gathered data on individual prisoners from all 20 prisons, administered surveys to large sample of prisoners in 3 of the prisons, and interviewed groups and individuals in 6 of the prisons. In all, the researchers conducted over 1000 interviews with prisoners, officials, and professionals involved in prison and religious activity.

The researchers adopted Gordon Allport's well-known concepts of "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" religious orientations to explain why some inmates seek religious experience while incarcerated. The intrinsic orientations result from the prisoner, whose main purpose is to express his religious sincerity, moreover, they apply to the prisoner whose main purpose is to experience his religious conviction personally. Intrinsically-motivated prisoners value religion because it improves their understanding and acceptance of their place in life, particularly their current incarceration and it helps them derive a sense of meaning and purpose for life. The extrinsic orientations apply to prisoners whose main purpose is to seek religion for its instrumental or utilitarian benefits. For them, religion is a means of social gain, acquiring comfort, security, or protection. Both the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations offer plausible explanations, as to why religion provides comfort from the deprivations of being imprisoned. Inmates seek religion for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons, however, one of the orientations is usually more dominant than the other with the inmate. Clear et al. (1992) noted that while many of the characteristics are present in all of the institutions, they could not establish a universal "prison religion." Thus, they were careful to caution the reader that the degree

of religious practice varied from one prison to the next. This section of the paper focuses on the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations identified by the researchers to explain religion in the prison setting.

Intrinsic orientations and motives for prison religion

The results of the Clear study indicated that religion serves as a mechanism to confront the reality of imprisonment, while alleviating the dissatisfaction one experiences with life. Three intrinsic reasons were identified as to why inmates seek religion in prison, (1) to deal with guilt; (2) to find a new way of life; and (3) to deal with loss, especially that of freedom.

Dealing with guilt. The first intrinsic orientation identified in the study was that religion helps prisoners to deal with the guilt of being imprisoned. According to the researchers, incarceration is used in modern society as a means of shaming the offender for the criminal act committed. Thus, the intent is not only to incapacitate the inmate, but to ensure also that they feel remorse for their wrongdoing, by experiencing guilt and ~~and~~ ~~the prisoner turns to religion to relieve~~ ~~guilt either by exculpatory acceptance of~~ the work of evil in the world or through atonement and forgiveness.

For some prisoners, especially non-religious inmates, evil was used to explain how they ended up in prison. An example provided by the researchers was "the simple belief that the person's previous rejection of religious obligations put him into circumstances where crime was possible" (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 35). Moreover, because he avoided religious fidelity and desired drugs, thrills, sex and other excitement, he was

allowed free reign, which eventually led to his criminal behavior (Clear et al., 1992). A comment made by one of the inmates was:

...beware of the tricks of the devil. He has a lot of tricks. He uses the things of the world. He will use people to get in your face ... He uses different ways, but you have to be wise. You have to avoid it (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 36).

While some inmates adopted an exculpatory view of their guilt, many others began to accept profound personal responsibility for their crimes and misbehavior. One inmate stated:

If you talk to everyone here, they'll tell you they're in prison because of a mistake. Most of them, it was a bad attorney, a judge, a stupid mistake in the way they did the crime. The religious inmate, he realizes the mistake was doing the crime in the first place (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 36).

For these inmates, religion served as a way to atone for their past behavior, and seek forgiveness from a higher power, while beginning the journey to a more fulfilling, law abiding life. As a result, "by adopting a religious identity, the inmate aligns with a logic that allows guilt, but surpasses it, with a stronger self-image intact" (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 36).

Finding a new way of life. The second intrinsic orientation for seeking religion in prison, was that religion provided an opportunity for the prisoners to search for a new beginning in life. The researchers noted that a central theme among the inmates was the discussion of how their faith had "changed" them. Several statements from the inmates include:

My faith has made me excited about when I go home. This person has never been on the streets before (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 37).

Religion is a guide not to get out of hand; it gives you a straight path (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 37).

The inmates who adopted religion as a new way of life not only stated that religion changed them, but also commented on how religion forced them to understand how their behavior and actions contributed to their current circumstances. One of the inmates commented:

Before I became a Muslim I would not even think of what the consequences were. But religion teaches you these things, it makes you more conscious to every act you do (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 37).

The inmates also drew meaning from their religious orientation with regard to how they felt God was playing an active role their lives. These inmates reported a sense of empowerment, and a change in their sense of personal power, enabling them to contend with the difficulties, pressure, and pain of being imprisoned. Note the statement from another inmate:

We ain't did nothing. Anything that's happened in or lives. He [God] has done ... The Father wants you to be completely empty so he can fill you (Clear et al., 1992, Pg. 37)

Dealing with loss, especially of freedom. The third and final intrinsic orientation identified in the study was that prisoners seek religion while in prison to search for and develop a sense of personal peace. Whereas this motive was also identified by non-religious prisoners, it was typically discussed more often among the religious prisoners. For these inmates, religion provided a sense of harmony and freedom within the prison walls. Psychologically, the inmate no longer had a sense of being locked-up. A couple of the inmates commented:

It is not the prison that incarcerates us, it is a man's mind (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 38).

I am able to live a normal life and uphold my character with dignity. The first objective of prisons is to strip you of your dignity. It takes your self-esteem, your dignity, and everything about you. Religion has helped me to regain this (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 38).

Clear et al., (1992, pg. 38) noted that “freedom is an essential doctrine of the major religions, in which a sharp distinction is made between things of ‘the world’ and that which is spiritual or ‘belongs’ to God, in which adherents are taught to value the latter.” For that reason, religion offered the prisoners a mental escape from the deprivation of being removed from society and being confined. Moreover, these inmates revealed that their “new life,” was God’s work and will, and it was something they could handle. A few of the inmates commented:

[My faith] was not as strong until after being incarcerated. Suddenly I found myself alone and with no one. That is when religion and belief in God became stronger. It kept me sane (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 39).

The only thing that is lacking in here is freedom of movement and women, but that is only a state of mind. I’ve sees some guys who don’t really realize that they are in prison because it is not the prison that they see, it is the walk with God. Prison doesn’t bother them anymore (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 39).

Extrinsic orientations toward religion in prison

To alleviate the deprivations imposed by prison life and the negativistic culture of the prison environment, prisoners also seek religion for extrinsic reasons such as social or personal gains. The extrinsic reasons for seeking religion varied by prison and were contingent upon the inmate and the social setting of the prison. The researchers identified four extrinsic reasons why prisoners turned to religion while being confined in the correctional setting. Below are the extrinsic reasons identified by the researchers.

Safety. A major concern for both violent and non-violent offenders entering prison, is their personal safety. In fact the threat of being harmed while in prison is believed to be a major deterrent for many individuals who opt not to commit criminal offenses. Society and public policy makers rely on this mechanism, which has been evident in their investment in programs such as "Scared Straight," etc. However, there are particular types of inmates, sex offenders, for example who legitimately fear for their safety while incarcerated. If their heinous offenses became known, they were more likely to face possibilities of physical or sexual abuse by other inmates at the institution. Often these inmates were excluded from limited social activities offered at the institution (Clear et al., 1992). For them, religion provided a safe haven from their peers. Religious groups practiced and encouraged forgiveness based on their religious doctrine, and so otherwise ostracized inmates were accepted among the religious regardless of how violent and/or malicious their past deeds may have been. A couple of the inmates commented:

The sex offenders who show up in the Christian group so they won't get hurt. They need to get protected (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 40).

A person with a nasty crime is accepted into the group. Whether you did the crime or not, they are going to protect you (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 40).

The researchers also noted that the chapel was a safe haven for prisoners, because it was off-limits to the general population and provided a place to avoid the negative culture associated with prison life. The inmates emphasized that it was important to interact with and be surrounded by fellow inmates who also wanted to avoid the trouble and hassles often associated with incarceration. One of the inmates commented:

When I am talking about protection, I am talking about it as protection against myself. I can protect myself from the things that I would do that would cause me to violate and get me more time (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 41).

Another important reason expressed for being a part of certain religious groups was the protection from physical aggression and manipulative tactics provided by members of the religious group, especially the designated leader speaking on one's behalf. This protection was not automatic, and was only offered "so long as, (1) the threatened inmate's religious involvement is generally perceived as "sincere", (2) the authority of the inmate intervening in his behalf is respected, and (3) the aggression was not a result of failure to pay debts or some other legitimate prison economic transaction" (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 41). The intervention of a religious leader on behalf of another inmate was most often not an aggressive act, since religions in prison adhere to the same doctrine as non-prison religions which emphasize non-violence or non-aggressive acts. One of the inmates commented:

Being a Muslim will benefit you spiritually, your soul, and then there are some other aspects, like protection. Muslims are obligated to protect another Muslim if they aren't doing anything wrong. If the guy is weak, and we know that he is weak, we are obligated to protect him and help him grow spiritually, because we don't know what is in his heart (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 41).

Material comforts. The second extrinsic factor identified in the study was the relief from material deprivations the prisoner encountered as a result of being incarcerated. Being involved with prison religious programs helped to alleviate the pain of material deprivation. In some of the prisons "church services were often followed by informal gatherings, in which punch and various cookies and cakes were served, and the

left-overs could be taken back to cells for later or to be sold or traded for other goods” (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 43). One of the inmates commented:

The big thing is that everyone knew that the Father was bringing in cookies and cakes and doughnuts and so forth. So naturally, everyone wanted to come (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 43).

Access to outsiders. The third extrinsic orientation identified in the study by the researchers was that religious activities in the prison provided access to outsiders, especially females. For an offender, “having an outsider to talk with can play an enormous role in reducing the excruciating sense of the inmate that he is forgotten by society” (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 44). However, more important for the offender was when the outsider is a female. According to Clear et al. (1992, pg. 44), “the self-confirming nature of these contacts takes on a different meaning, for the inmate is able to experience a prison rarity – to meet a woman who is a stranger.” A couple of the inmates commented:

Because a lot of women come from the outside. There are a couple of cuties coming in, the word gets around. They have been in jail so they want to see women (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 43).

Sometimes there will be some good looking ladies [volunteers] in the chapel on a Sunday. Then you're likely to see this place filled, with all the guys coming here to stare and laugh and say rude stuff to each other (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 44).

Inmate Relations. The final extrinsic orientation identified in the study was the social support system experienced by participating in religious programming inside the prison. Religious participation provided inmates with the opportunity to interact with their peers and receive companionship, friendship, and the intimacy of a family and community that free citizens receive. For the inmate assigned a housing partner, who is a

stranger he had nothing in common with, the opportunity to seek out familiar faces and people from his neighborhood was often afforded by the chapel. A couple of the inmates commented:

I wanted to see a friend of mine that was in another unit It was the only place we could meet (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 45).

A lot of people attend services just to get out of their ... 6X9 cell. It's just the opportunity to get out of your cell and socialize with somebody else (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 45).

According to Clear et al., (1992, pg. 45), "in prison 'friendship' is not merely an emotional relationship; it is a reciprocal one, involving trade-offs and obligations." Thus, there were reasons some prisoners did not want the traditional prison 'friendship' since often times it carried the commitment to share many aspects of the prison environment the inmate wanted to avoid. The researchers noted that this was especially true for inmates who were alarmed by and wanted to avoid the power machinations within prison. This was also true for the inmate who felt alienated or weary from the street culture that defined much of prison life. One of the inmates commented:

What these people need now is a friend. A confidant. Someone to talk to ...someone you can share your last candy bar with (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 46).

In addition to seeking familiar peers, religious group interactions provided inmates the opportunity to socialize and affiliate with others ascribing to similar values, beliefs, and conduct standards within the general prison population. Thus, the religious inmates were not forced to socialize all the time with others who adhered to the traditional prison culture and supported the "inmate code." Association with inmates

“who subscribe to religious values helps the inmate avoid the difficulties of traditional inmate life” (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 46). According to an inmate:

It has helped me to change and to hang with people who don't get into nothing ... They don't fight, they don't steal ... If you are somewhere else [than the chapel], you are apt to be stealing, then you get into trouble, then you get more time ... There's all kinds of things going on in prison (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 46).

Clear et al. (1992) noted that religious groups were the only ones who would accept certain inmates, especially those who had committed heinous crimes. One of the inmates commented:

Anybody with a sex beef [conviction] or child beef will find himself in Christian programs. Anybody who is looking for something in prison one step away from protective custody. Its sad, because that is what happens. Most cases, they are not sincere. They got to have some friends who are going to hang out with them, and only other Christians will do that (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 46).

This adaptation varied somewhat for different religious groups. Muslims demonstrated their commitment to their faith by adhering to the “laws,” of their faith, particularly the individual and group prayers. For Muslims, the discipline of daily devotions was not only a public symbol of obedience to Allah, but also a personal reminder of their commitment to Qur'an requirements. For Christians who “talk the talk,” there was continual scrutiny to see if they could “walk the walk.” Inmates were interested in determining if they lived by standards different from the Christian religion. Thus, Christians inmates felt like non-believers were watching to observe abnormal conduct or lifestyle. One of the inmates commented:

Sincere people are judged harder. If you are with them, you are judged harder ... It's what has helped me to change [because] I got to do things right (Clear et al, 1992 pg. 47).

According to Clear et al. (1992), the social needs of the religious inmates stem in part from their desire to be different from the remaining population. Inmates who embraced religion to challenge their peers, symbolically argued that their way was better and more righteous. It is therefore understandable why some inmates were suspicious and resented the religious prisoners. Their reaction commonly takes the form of “testing,” “baiting,” “provocation,” and “taunting,” which often had the mark of hostility. For support, the religious inmates turned to each other, in which the social support often had the flavor of a community within a community. In some of the prisons in the sample, gatherings of religious inmates were occasions where discussions of the travails of their “walk” was openly encouraged. Whether this was a formal agenda, was not obvious in most discussions. However, discussions with religious inmates included the ways they tried to help each other keep their vows of faith, and avoid the temptations of prison life within the “code.” One of the inmates commented:

In Islam, we don't separate the “secular” from the “religious.” In Islam, anything could be addressed. We open with a prayer; we close with a prayer. But we talk about just about anything in between. That's how we help each other to see things. To understand about doing our time, here (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 47).

According to Clear et al. (1992, pg. 47), “the religious inmate has the same social needs that are not materially different than anyone else's, but he seeks to meet them without the normal asset of traditional inmate collegiality.” Thus, the religious inmates assisted in making this possible by being available and supportive. The researchers noted

that this was one of the reasons many religious inmates emphasize the importance of “hanging together.” One of the inmates commented:

The [religious] group makes me feel like a hypocrite when I don't keep staying with my religion. I know I hurt my family; I see so much of myself in everyone's testimonies. I do this [come to fellowship] in order to be around positive people, and to strengthen my faith (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 48).

Clear et al. (1992) concluded that inmates embrace religion in prison as a public way of claiming to be different from the person who was initially sentenced to prison. Religious inmates were attracted to religious affiliations to avoid trouble and negative aspects of the prison culture which was achieved through constructive behavior. For example, visiting the chapel helps a religious inmate, avoid always being in his living area, thus, avoiding the possibility of violating prison conduct rules.

The Religious Experience in Prison and Religious Orientation

Christianity and Islam were the dominant prison religions in the study by Clear et al. (1992), although the researchers also interviewed Native Americans, Buddhists, and some extreme groups such as the Aryan Brotherhood which operate under the auspices of religion. Very little research has been done on religious groups other than Christians and Muslims. This is not because these two religions are the only legitimate vehicles of religious teaching in the prison, but possibly because they are the most dominant forms of religion in the prison setting. In this section, the religious overtones of these two prison religions and a synopsis of the interviews with two other religious groups encountered by the researchers are discussed.

Christianity

Christianity is one of the dominant prison religions studied by Clear et al. (1992). Adherents of Christianity are typically identified as being Catholic or Protestant. Catholicism is based on the premise that the Church is empowered to define doctrines for all believers, which are moral obligations necessary for salvation. Moreover, through the affirmation of an individual priesthood, adherents are expected to confess their sins to a special ordained priest to obtain salvation. Catholicism also embraces seven sacraments: baptism, the Lord's Supper, confirmation, penance, marriage, ordination of priests, and anointing of the sick (Breuilly et al., 1997; Rosten, 1975). Although the Catholics have a strong reliance on the Bible, final interpretation of any specific passage is left up to the Priest who heads the church and is appointed custodian of the Bible. Furthermore, Catholicism encourages strict adherence to the moral perspectives delineated by the Bible and does allow diverse opinions on subjects such as birth control, divorce, or homosexuality, since these issues are believed to be settled by the teaching of the Bible (Rosten, 1975).

Protestants are Christians who accept the basic early Christian creeds (statement of belief), while viewing the Bible as the supreme authority in all matters of faith and practice. Protestants believe in salvation by faith alone, and only accept two sacraments (Breuilly et al., 1997; Rosten, 1975). These two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper are according to the Gospels the only two to have the direct touch of Jesus (Breuilly et al., 1997). Breuilly et al. (1997) state that unlike the Catholics, the Protestants believe in the individual priesthood of all believers and that God is accessible

to each of his children. Protestantism embraces a variety of doctrines with different beliefs, which include Anglican Communion, Adventists, Baptists, Brethren, The Church of God, Disciplines of Christ, Friends (or Quakers), Lutherans, Methodists, Mennonites, Moravians, Pentecostals, Presbyterians, Reformed groups, Shakers, United Church of Christ, and all Christian Fundamentalists, to name a few (Breuilly et al., 1997; Rosten, 1975). Protestants are also divided along liberal, conservative, and fundamentalist lines. The liberal stream is open to critical studies of the Bible, keen to modernization of the church and engages in dialogue with other religions. The conservatives adhere mainly to Reformation teaching developed by Luther and Calvin and see other religions as essentially misguided, seeking to convert them to Christianity (Rosten, 1975). These groups tend to read the Bible in a literal manner, rejecting modern biblical criticism and theories such as evolution, which contradicts the biblical account of creation (Breuilly et al., 1997; Rosten, 1975). The fundamentalists also tend to reject historic creeds and forms of worship, and emphasize a more literal and individualistic interpretation of the Bible than do conservative Protestants. They also attempt to enforce strict legal and moral codes (Breuilly et al., 1997). Additionally, fundamentalists see God as a lawgiver. They believe salvation results entirely from discipline and strict adherence to the established moral principles found in the Bible, such as Ten Commandments (Rosten, 1975). For the fundamentalists, everything centers around the church; members are required to attend and participate in social and religious activities, in addition to one or two services on Sunday (Breuilly et al., 1997; Rosten, 1975). Members who do not act in

accordance with the established guidelines are often ostracized, which is considered to be a silent invitation to conform or worship elsewhere (Rosten, 1975).

The study findings by Clear et al. (1992) indicate that inmates who identified themselves as Protestants tend to adjust better in prison than inmates of other affiliations. This may be indicative of conservative or Pentecostal religious orientations in which we encounter (especially in the Southern prisons) in the free world, also tend to ameliorate the prison environment (Clear et al., 1992). Clear et al. (1992) noted that the character of Christian practice depends a great deal upon the religious orientation of the chaplain. While this is the case, the researchers noted that there was little influence of liberal theology in the prison settings. Moreover, the religious orientations of Christians appeared to be more orthodox and doctrinaire. Hence, the religious doctrines in the prison setting was typically socially and theologically conservative (Clear et al., 1992). Religious inmates attend church service, prayer meetings, evening Bible study, musical performances and adopted religious sacraments as prescribed by their religious teaching. Thus, according to the researchers, the prison religion is a discipline within a disciplined world.

Islam

The other dominant religion in the prison system is Islam which is practiced by African-American inmates. The literature suggests that most African-Americans who become Muslims while being incarcerated, do so as an act of rebellion against the perceived oppression they have encountered from a system of rules and politics dominated by White Americans. According to Clear et al. (1992), the history of Islam in

the United States prison system is one of protest by African-American inmates. Thus, for the African-American prisoner, affiliation with Islam is a way to repudiate white, Western society (Clear et al., 1992). The researchers documented that the history of Islam in the prison setting also includes a tradition of gang-like protection by fellow Muslims. Moreover, joining the ranks of Islam provides a source of protection from other violent, stronger inmates. This obligation to protect fellow Muslims from attack is based on the teaching of the Qur'an, which the Muslim inmates take very seriously (Clear et al., 1992). This source of protection is especially desired by newly admitted young African-American inmates.

For the Muslim inmates belief alone is meaningless, therefore, they are required to express and uphold their faith in their daily lives by practicing the Five Pillars of Islam. Therefore, because Islam is a total way of life, not just a religion or concern with spiritual matters; the newly admitted or young Muslim inmate may not have completely understood or accepted the religious doctrine of Islam. This may explain why the Muslim inmates scored lower on the adjustment scale in the Clear study than other religious groups. In essence, for the African-American Muslim inmate, "Islam provides a total lifestyle of discipline to its laws, while also providing social support, a legitimate way to reject the conventions of Western society" (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 29 and 30).

The religion of Islam often runs counter to the administration of prison operations and the requirements of security which makes it difficult for Muslims to faithfully practice their religion. For example, the requirement of SALAH at midday on Friday is often not possible since the institution is either conducting count or the inmates are

required to be working, often in different locations, and sometimes outside of the prison compound. It is also difficult to follow the required dietary practice of no pork, since much of the prison menu consists of pork and many food products include pork ingredients. Another problem documented by Clear et al. (1992) is that the prison administrators are often skeptical of Muslim inmates and see them as troublemakers, which can result in prison administrators only reluctantly offering the required as well as requested Islamic services to assist Muslims in their spiritual development. Finally, in most prisons, the chaplain's are Christians, which often dictates the types of religious programs offered by the institution and volunteers recruited to assist in the delivery of religious programs. Thus, in many instances, it was often difficult for Muslim inmates to locate an Imam to lead their religious services. As a result of these barriers Muslim inmates have to rely upon one another, which in turn, strengthens their bonds to each other. Ironically, obstacles placed before the Muslim inmates actually assist them meeting one main requirement of the Qur'an, the strengthening bonds among each other. But it also starts the growth of their religious maturity.

Other religions in the prison setting

In addition, to Christians and Islam followers, the researchers also interviewed Native Americans and members of the Aryan Brotherhood. When talking with the researchers, the Native Americans spoke of the need to identity with a particular culture and how religion provides them with a sense of oneness. A final group frequency encountered by the researchers was the Aryan Brotherhood. Their conservation center on the desire to solicit followers, to promote white supremacy and their support various

spirituality, religious affiliation is a method for inmates to subtly protest that the cultural that order placed them in prison is morally incorrect (Clear et al., 1992).

The Dimensions of Religion in the Prison Setting

This section of the paper discusses the seven dimensions of religion as they relate to the prison setting. Because Christianity and Islam were the religions in which most of the study information was gathered, discussion of the dimensions of religion in the prison setting also centers around these religious practices.

Transcendence or Supernatural

The Transcendence dimension of religion is described as the belief in the concept of the supernatural or an extraordinary, all-powerful being, who lives and reigns eternally over all creation. In the prison study, many inmates talked about being "born again," within the context of their religiosity. For these inmates, there was a consistent theme that God was playing an active role in their lives, and was instrumental in changing them. Similarly, there were numerous reports from evangelical Christians about their religious "conversion." They reported that their religion provided the opportunity to atone for past misdeeds and seek forgiveness from God, who was now in control of their lives. This in turn, they said, facilitated their spiritual development.

History

The dimension of History represents the heritage of religious beliefs and behavior of the inmate. It is the religious foundation established by the inmate's community and/or family members, prior to entering the prison. While some of the inmates converted to other religions, such as Islam or the Aryan Brotherhood (at least they identified

other religions, such as Islam or the Aryan Brotherhood (at least they identified themselves as being a religion), many adopted a more conservative Christian religious ideology. It appeared that many of the inmates continued to uphold the religious doctrine of their community. For instance, in many Southern prisons, the religious orientation of inmates were often conservative and fundamentalist, even though the fundamentalist advocates strict adherence to religious doctrine, speaks strongly against committing sins or crimes and encouraged the application of strong and punitive penalties for such law violation.

Belief

The dimension of Belief concerns the idea that God or Allah exists and the doctrines inmates hold true about their religion. Clear et al. (1992) stated that when inmates spoke in reference to their religious views, they often took a literal interpretation of their faith. Moreover, both Christian and Muslim inmates, provided direct quotations from the Bible or the Qur'an when referring to their religious doctrine and religious beliefs. According to Clear et al. (1992), for some inmates, religion in its substance, provided some possible routes out of their dilemma. Thus, religion not only explained the cause of their failure, but it also prescribed the solution.

Ritual

The dimension of Ritual reinforces the inmate's commitment to their religious doctrine. This dimension, according to Comstock (1995) and Cunningham et al. (1995) is probably the most visible dimension of religion, since inmates have the opportunity to demonstrate their religious commitment publicly, a process which often separates the

“sincere” from the “insincere” religious inmate. A common theme among prisoners who were interviewed was that some of the inmates who professed religious commitment failed to demonstrate that in terms of their actions. As a result, the religious inmate was under constant scrutiny from the non-believer and expected to demonstrate his religious sincerity. For Muslim inmates, demonstrating their sincerity took the form of adopting a religious lifestyle which was easy to observe. Adherence to the “laws,” were obvious manifestations of this commitment, particularly individual and group prayer. However, for Christian inmates, this was not the case, because they were constantly scrutinized by non-believers to “talk the talk,” and “walk the walk.” Inmates who professed to be religious felt they were being watched and challenged all the time by non-believers. Although, these inmates regularly attended chapel services, church attendance was not by itself sufficient to remove the skepticism and doubt of the non-believer.

The dimension of Ritual also links with other dimensions of religion. For example, participation in religious activities, especially attending services at the chapel, provided inmates with a sort of safe haven, especially for inmate who had committed violent or heinous offenses. Religious practice also provided the inmate with the opportunity to accept moral responsibility for their past behaviors, and to search for a new beginning in life, which represents the personal identity dimension. In addition, religious participation provided inmates the opportunity to interact with peers who hold similar convictions and beliefs. That is, religious participation provided inmates with the opportunity to network and experience fellowship with like-minded others, who shared the same religious beliefs and goals which represent the Transcendence, Belief, and

Community dimensions of religion. Finally, ritual participation provided the inmate with the opportunity to continue religious traditions and rituals practiced by his community which represent the dimension of History.

Morality

The dimension of Morality in religion provides moral prescriptions that inmates are expected to follow in order to obtain salvation. This dimension defines acceptable behavior patterns with regard to what is accepted as being good or bad. It also establishes conduct codes that are accepted by the inmate's religious doctrine. Some inmates stated that because of their new religious commitment, they now accept moral responsibility for their past misbehavior. According to one of the inmates:

Religion is a guide not to get out of hand; it gives you a straight path (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 37).

The inmates who adopted religion wanted to appear deeply committed to their religious doctrine. This commitment was expressed by their knowledge and reading of the Bible and Qur'an and other religious writings.

Society

The dimension of Society serves as a group aspect of religious commitment strengthening the group's sense of identity and providing inmates with social networks of like minded inmates having similar beliefs. Given that both Christianity and Islamic doctrines call for ritual group worship as a normative standard, fellowship in these rituals provides inmates the opportunity to participate in group ceremonies, worship, and devotion. Religion also offered interpersonal and spiritual support for inmates. For

religious inmates, social companions deal with concerns about personal safety and the daily struggles of being in a prison environment through group support and providing protection. While this was the case for all religious groups, it was particularly the case for Muslims. In addition, affiliations among religious inmates provided an alternative to traditional inmate relationships. That is, inmates were provided the opportunity to interact with other inmates who claimed to be religious and subscribed to different standards.

Personal Identity

The dimension of Personal Identity provides inmates with a sense of purpose and meaning in life, which leads to growth, and maturation through various ageing processes. Many inmates stated that religion provided them with the opportunity to search for a new beginning in life, which resulted in a change in their sense of personal power and ability to deal with the pressures of being imprisoned. They argued that religion is a way to atone for the wrong they have done and to receive forgiveness needed to establish their personal self-worth. Hence, religion provided the inmate with a sense of personal peace while incarcerated, which in turn alleviated the sense of being confined. Thus, the inmates were provided a mental escape from the deprivation of being removed from society. Moreover, through enhanced self-esteem and increased self-awareness, the inmates were able to mask the deprivation of being confined mentally, while developing a sense of personal freedom. For these inmates, religion facilitated their spiritual development which increased their self-worth, self-awareness, and sense of inner peace. According to these inmates, these changes resulted in their development of a new

identity. Moreover, their being a totally different person from the “inmate” who was originally incarcerated.

Summary

The findings from this chapter reveal that inmates in prison seek religion for the same reasons that free citizens do. Moreover, inmates, like free citizens, seek religion because of a deep commitment to their faith. After fully internalizing their religious beliefs, inmates find a new way of life and answers to questions such as the purpose of existence and death. In addition, inmates seek religion for utilitarian purposes, such as the gain of material comforts and protection from the threat of harm. So now that we know religion is important to inmates, the question becomes, does religion influence behavior, moreover, deviant behavior? To address this question, the next chapter examines the empirical research published since 1985, which explores the relationship between religion and deviance.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review examines the evidence generated since 1985 regarding the extent to which religion, either independently or in combination with other factors, inhibits or promotes deviance. Beginning with a brief discussion of the theoretical framework, it moves on to discuss explanations used to explain the inverse relationship between religion and deviance. This chapter then introduces the reader to a summary of previous literature reviews on religion and deviance. Within this section, the research designs, statistical analyses, measurement of religion, and research findings of the previous literature reviews are presented. Next, this chapter introduces the methodology used to conduct this literature review. Within this section, the data, search procedures, measures, and limitations of the methodology for this literature review are presented. The discussion then turns to a review of the literature on religion and crime since 1985. Following this, the writer examines three of the most popular theses found in the literature since 1985 (anti-ascetic, moral community, and spurious) that explain the observed significant, inverse relationship between religion and deviance are examined. Following this information, is a discussion of the relative effectiveness of single indicators of religion as opposed to multiple indicators in carrying out studies of this

nature. Afterwards, a methodological critique of this literature review is presented followed by a discussion of the overall findings for this literature review. The chapter concludes with a presentation of implications for research based on the findings from this literature review.

Theoretical Framework

Speculation about the role religion has played in different societies as a means of social control has a rich history with roots deeply imbedded in the functionalist perspective. That model assumes that the stability of society is assured by teaching and reinforcing an approved set of values, beliefs, and norms for all citizens. The modern sociological version of this model is derived from Emile Durkheim, who views religion as a crucial, integrative mechanism for maintaining social order and fostering a common set of values and beliefs. Functionalists argue that religion promotes social cohesion by uniting members of society with shared values and norms. Hence, religious beliefs are viewed as providing the foundation for moral behavior (Chadwick and Top, 1993). It follows that the more religious a person is, the less likely it is that he/she will deviate from societal norms; conversely, as Pettersson (1991, pg. 279) states, “for centuries criminal behavior has been explained by the erosion of religion.”

In contrast, centered around the writings of Karl Marx, conflict theorists contend that religion is created by the ruling class of society who formulate and maintain beliefs that justify the social inequalities in society in order to maintain their privileged positions. This role of religion is emphasized by Karl Marx (1969, pg. 94) in one of his best known statements about religion:

The basis of irreligious criticism is this: man makes religion; religion does not make the man. Religion is indeed man's self-consciousness and self-awareness so long as he has not found himself or lost himself again. . . . Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.

Hence, conflict theorists argue that religion serves the same purpose as other social institutions; a mechanism that allows people in power, a minority, to dominate a relatively powerless majority. Further, religious institutions legitimize the status quo by diverting people's attention from the social problems and inequities they face by encouraging them to accept their fate in this world, regardless of how unfair it may be, with promises of rewards in the next life (O'Dea, 1966). By focusing attention on salvation in the next world, religion distracts powerless members of society from the social and economic injustices they encounter in this world (O'Dea, 1966).

Despite this contradiction by conflict theorists, the functionalist explanation of religion as a social control mechanism to prevent deviance continues to be an accepted thesis. Thus, religion is viewed as a form of social control that strengthens an individual's ties to society by strengthening their religious belief through participation in religious services and sacraments. Therefore, the functionalists contend that people who engage in religious activities will be less likely to commit deviant acts than those who do not engage in religious activities.

The postulate that religion inhibits deviance also has an extensive history in the United States, dating back to the early 1900s, grounded in theoretical perspectives such as anomie, social disorganization, differential association and social control explanations of

deviance. Despite this legacy of belief in religion as a social control mechanism, many scholars remain skeptical about the potential of religiosity to inhibit deviant behavior. Their critical views received support from the landmark study by Hirschi and Stark (1969), which questioned the efficacy of religion as a social control mechanism. Hirschi and Stark (1969) administered a self-report survey to 4,077 adolescents in Western Contra Costa County, California. These researchers found that children who attended church were as likely as non-attendees to report involvement in deviant and criminal acts. They also found that “children who attend church are no more likely than non-attenders to accept ethical principles, they are only slightly more likely than non-attenders to respect conventional authority, and they are much more likely to believe in the literal existence of the Devil and a life after death” (Hirschi and Stark, 1969, pg. 202). Considering these findings, Hirschi and Stark(1969) concluded that religion was not an inhibitor of deviance. These findings pleased many critical social scientists and stunned others, but eventually they “became, for many observers, the accepted conclusion to a long debated issue in the literature” (Benda, 1995, pg. 446).

In spite of the scholarly consensus spawned by Hirschi and Stark (1969), subsequent empirical research examining religion as a preventative mechanism of deviance consistently provided evidence of a significant, inverse relationship between religion and deviance, although the strength of this relationship is typically modest or weak (Cochran, Wood, and Arneklev, 1994; Cochran, 1988; Cochran, 1989; Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1984; Tittle and Welch, 1983). In 1983, Tittle and Welch examined 65 previously published studies that reported evidence concerning the nature of the

relationship between religion and deviance. Out of the 65 studies, only 10 (15 percent) failed to report a significant negative relationship between religion and deviance. In 1985, a review of thirty-one studies that investigated the link between religion and deviance concluded that "people who attend church most frequently are significantly less involved in crime than those who attended less often" (Ellis, 1995, pg. 26). The evidence of an inverse relationship among studies was so consistent that in 1988, Cochran (pg. 294) stated that "virtually every research effort subsequent to the Hirschi and Stark study published in 1969 has consistently found evidence of a statistically inverse relationship between some measures of religion and various indicators of deviance." Recently, Cochran et al. (1994) stated that with the exception of the Elifson, Peterson, and Hadway study in 1983, every published work since Tittle and Welch's (1983) review of the literature also reported that religion has a statistically significant and inverse association to deviance. In essence, since the 1970s, empirical results have consistently demonstrated a significant inverse association between religion and deviance.

Despite these positive reviews, some social scientists continue to doubt that this relationship actually exists. They claim that the observed associations between religion and deviance are either coincidental or spurious (Albrecht, Chadwick, and Alcorn, 1977; Knudten and Knudten, 1971), or contend that the findings have produced mixed results and are therefore inconclusive (Burkett, 1977; Higgins and Albrecht, 1977; Jenson and Erickson, 1979). For example, in a bivariate analysis, Albrecht et al. (1977) found support for Burkett and White's anti-ascetic thesis which states that victimless offenses are more likely than victim offenses to produce a statistically significant and inverse

association between religion and deviance. However, in a multivariate analysis, when peer expectations and family relationships were added to the model, church participation became less pronounced than in the bivariate model. In this paper, the writer discusses the findings from an examination of the research published since 1985 which is designed to determine if these studies continue to support the hypothesis of a significant inverse relationship between religion and deviance, or the argument that the findings are inconclusive or spurious.

Explanations of the Inverse Relationship Between Religion and Deviance

Eight major explanations are used to explain the existence of a significant, inverse relationship between religion and deviance. These are summarized below.

1. **The Social Control Thesis** - Identifies intervening variables that link religion to deviance.

The Social Control thesis is that religion is an important socializing institution for promoting law abiding behavior, and in doing so it is a crucial integrative mechanism for maintaining social order and fostering common beliefs and values. Social control theorists hold that religion is a focal point of group solidarity and commitment to a common set of moral principles. Those who attend church are involved in a major socializing institution that increases the individual's bond to society and by definition, the greater the intensity of the bond, the less likely are deviant acts (Ellis, 1985).

2. **The Anti-Ascetic Thesis** - Specifies the types of criminal behavior best and least explained by religion.

The Anti-Ascetic thesis is that the relationship between religion and deviance is stronger in the case of illegal acts that are traditionally condemned by the churches, but

which are no longer criticized by all segments of secular opinion (Middleton and Putney, 1962). This approach holds that religious involvement may not suppress serious crime, although it reduces the chance of other less serious morally deviant acts such as drug use. The Anti-Ascetic hypothesis is expanded by Burkett and White (1974) to include victimless offenses.

3. **The Hell Fire Thesis** - Specifies crucial components of religion that matter.

The Hell-Fire thesis is that the threat of eternal punishment and the belief in an afterlife in hell deters behavior that is considered immoral according to religious teaching. Thus strong believers will commit fewer deviant acts than non-believers. (Ellis, 1985; Hirschi and Stark, 1969).

4. **The Moral Community Thesis** - Specifies the contingent effect of religion in areas with widespread community participation in religious activities.

The Moral Community thesis holds that religion will constrain deviance in communities where religious convictions of individuals are reinforced in their social environment. In communities of regular church attendance where religious influences permeate culture and social interactions, where the majority of persons profess a religious faith, religion effectively controls deviance (Stark, Kent, and Doyle, 1982).

5. **The Secular Social Disorganization Thesis** - Specifies the contingent effect of religion is strongest in socially disorganized places.

The Secular Social Disorganization thesis is that when moral guidelines are unavailable, in flux, or have lost their authority and hence their power to enforce, the salience of religious participation for suppressing deviance is enhanced (Tittle and Welch,

1983). Where secular or social condemnation of an act is strong, the additional impact of religiosity is weak or pretty much non-existent.

6. The Spurious Association Thesis - Identifies antecedent variables which diminish the effects of religion on deviance.

The Spurious Association thesis is that whatever relationship exists between religion and deviance is merely a function of causal variables that just happen to correlate with both religion and criminality. Implicit in this assumption, "is that these non religious variables are closer to the real causes of criminality than are the religious variables" (Ellis, 1985, pg. 503).

7. The Obedience To Authority Thesis - Specifies religion as an indicator of obedience to authority.

The Obedience To Authority thesis is that "religion and deviance may be inversely related in part because religion reflects a general inclination to obey authority" (Ellis, 1985, pg. 504). People who are religious are more likely to feel a commitment to obey authority.

8. The Arousal Thesis - Specifies the effect of neurological factors that influence deviant behavior.

The Arousal thesis is based upon arousal theory that holds that the relationship between religion and deviance stems from underlying neurological factors. A specific version of the Arousal Thesis maintains that religious people possess less need for thrills, moreover, they contrast sharply with the non-religious people who seek thrills (Ellis, 1987 and 1989).

Literature Reviews on Religion and Deviance

Four major literature reviews have been conducted on the relationship between religion and deviance, Knudten and Knudten in 1971, Tittle and Welch in 1983, Johnson in 1984, and Ellis in 1985. These studies identified four central methodological flaws in the literature.

1. Research Design

Most research on the link between religion and deviance was based upon anecdotal accounts, instead of theoretical explanations guided by hypothesis testing (Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; Tittle and Welch, 1983). Only quasi-experimental research designs were employed, as it was never possible for an experimental group to be randomly "assigned" to be religious (Johnson, 1984; Tittle and Welch, 1983). Finally, there was a total neglect of the research attempting to determine causal ordering (Johnson, 1984; Tittle and Welch, 1983).

2. Statistical Analysis

Bivariate statistical analyses were used in early studies examining the relationship between religion and deviance, which has greatly hindered the process of establishing cause and effect between religion and deviance (Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; Tittle and Welch 1983). More complicated models with advanced statistical techniques and more control variables included in the models are needed to fully identify the relationship between these constructs.

3. Measurement of Religion

There are two persistent problems in measuring religion. First, the operational definitions used vary considerably, from behavior measures to belief and other measures. Secondly, many studies employ single indicators of religion, although research shows that this is a multi-dimensional concept and the use of a single indicator may serve as a poor predictor of one's general religion (Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; and Tittle and Welch, 1983).

4. Research Findings

Much of the research on religion relies upon case studies, without control groups and few to no control variables. Consequently, there is limited effort of collaboration among social scientists to determine if the relationship between religion and deviance is actually causal or spurious (Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971). Also, there are few attempts to explore the conditions under which religion might effect deviance, especially among the prison population (Johnson, 1984; Tittle and Welch, 1983). Additionally, most of the early research in this area prior to 1971 is anecdotal (Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; and Tittle and Welch, 1983). Finally, although the research since 1971 produces a number of significant, inverse associations between religion and deviance, these associations are moderate to weak (Tittle and Welch, 1983).

Methodology For This Literature Review

This literature is written primarily in the form of a content analysis. This content analysis systematically reviews, combines, and summarizes the research of empirical studies published since 1985, which explore the relationship between religion and

deviance. This content analysis reveals the circumstances and conditions in which religion is most likely to act as an inhibitor of deviance. The advantage of employing a content analysis is that the findings may be replicated by other researchers, since a specified classification scheme is followed to record the methodological design and detail, research findings, and conclusions for each study. Thus, the content analysis removes research bias and subjectivity from the analysis, since a thorough profile of the methodological detail for each study is presented, thus, allowing the reader to discern for him/herself the validity of the research findings and conclusions from each study. A disadvantage of content analysis is that it does not provide the depth of information the traditional qualitative literature review may.

Data

Since 1985, twenty-eight published studies have assessed the relationship between religion and deviance.¹ Four of these were omitted here because they did not directly examine the effect of religion on deviance. One other study was dropped because of its small sample size and lack of control variables.² Ultimately, a total of twenty-three studies are examined in this literature review.

¹ The four studies not included in this analysis did not directly assess the impact of religiosity as an inhibitor of deviance: (1) Grasmick, H.G. and McGill, A.L., 1994 tests the hypothesis that a tendency to attribute crime to dispositional factors is the intervening variable linking conservative religious beliefs to punitiveness; (2) Burkett 1993, tests the hypothesis that parental religiosity as perceived by youth has an impact on adolescent drinking; (3) Grasmick et. al., 1993 tests the hypothesis that evangelical/fundamentalist Protestants are more inclined to attribute crime to an offenders' dispositional characteristics than to situational factors; and (4) Grasmick et al., 1992 tests the hypothesis that those who adhere to a literal interpretation of the Bible attribute crime to dispositional factors which results in them being more punitive toward offenders.

² Because of its relatively small sample size (n=13), Ellis and Peterson (1996) testing whether more religious countries have lower crime rates than less religious counties was also omitted from this study.

Search Procedures

The process implemented in order to obtain studies for this literature review began with the origination of a bibliography of social scientists who study the effects of religious practices in prison. Other potential studies were obtained by manually searching the Criminal Justice Periodicals Index, Criminal Justice Abstract Periodicals, and the Social Science Periodicals Index for relevant listings. Finally, a computer-generated search of the Psycho-Info, Socio-file, Dissertation Abstracts, RLIN, and Articles First Search databases produce a listing of empirical studies on this topic published since 1985. For the database searches, the following keywords were used: church attendance; church membership; religion; religiosity; delinquency; crime; deviant behavior; and deviance. Using all of these techniques, a comprehensive bibliography was developed and the studies were retrieved from the library. Following this, the reference list in each of these papers were reviewed and studies not located with the initial search were added to the written list. This process continued until no new studies were found.

The only studies included in this literature review are those in which religion is the principal construct of interest and deviance is the dependent variable. This review is limited to those empirical studies which directly assessed the impact of the respondent's religion on deviance. In studies that include multiple hypotheses, only those which meet these criteria are included. Appendix A provides an example of the code sheet that was used to obtain relevant characteristics (methodological design and detail, research findings, conclusions, and other relevant information) of the studies examined in this review.

Measures

The majority of earlier studies employed various operational definitions and indicators to measure religion. Researchers note that the concept of religion may contain multiple dimensions, each of which may have a unique relationship to deviance (Clear et al., 1992; Cornwall, 1989). If this is true, single item indicators may not serve as adequate predictors of religion (Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; Tittle and Welch, 1983). However, in many instances, the empirical studies in this literature review used single indicators to measure religion. As well as using a single indicator to measure religion, each of the studies employed a different operational definition of religion. Therefore, five dimensions of religion were created in this study to categorize and provide some order to the multitude of definitions used by various researchers who studied the religion-deviance relationship since 1985. These dimensions are summarized below.

Personal Religiosity. The extent to which one is religious, pious, or devout; the degree to which one expresses a sincere and earnest regard for religion in daily life; the practical influence of religion in daily life activities, values, beliefs, salience.

Religious Participation. Church attendance, church membership, the importance of church attendance, attendance in religious service, and participation in prayer.

Religious Affiliation. The religious denomination respondents identified themselves as being affiliated with.

Religious Networks. The level of religiosity of family members and close friends; amount of religious associations; and views concerning the depth of friends' religiosity.

Global. Multiple indicators of the above measures which cut across categories and any measure that did not fit into any of the categories above.

Limitation of Literature Review

The empirical studies included in this literature review consist of research published in the professional journals and does not include studies which were not published or presented at professional meetings, such as the American Society of Criminology or Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.

Review of Literature

The methodology and findings of research using individual level data on non-prison populations are summarized in Table 1. Table 2 summarizes the methodology and findings of research that study individual level data on prison populations. Table 3 summarizes the methodology and findings for research using aggregate level data. The first column of Tables 1-3 identify the author and year when the study was published. The remaining columns describe specific elements of the study such as the methodological design of the research, the years(s) of the study, its research design, the sample population, location where the study took place, the type of statistical analysis employed, if the study employed methods such as time bound questions to establish casual order, if interactions were studied, the number of control variables in the study, measure(s) of religion, measure(s) of deviance and the significance and sign of the relationship between the measures of religion and deviance.

Of the twenty-three studies examined, eighteen produced evidence of a statistically significant inverse relationship between some measure of religion and various

indicators of deviance (Brainbridge, 1989; Brownfield and Sorenson, 1991; Chadwick and Top, 1993; Clear et al., 1992; Cochran, 1988; Cochran, 1989; Cochran and Akers, 1989; Cochran et al., 1994; Ellis and Thompson, 1989; Evans, Cullen, Burton, and Dunaway, 1996; Fernquist, 1995; Free, 1994; Grasmick, Cochran, Bursik, and Kimpel, 1991; Johnson et al., 1997; Junger and Polder, 1993; Petterson, 1991; Sloane and Potvin, 1986; Welch and Tittle, 1991); whereas, five of the studies did not produce evidence of such a relationship (Benda, 1995; Benda, 1997; Evans, Cullen, Dunaway, Burton, 1995; Johnson, 1984; Ross, 1994). The following discussion considers the studies grouped in Tables One - Three.

Religion and Deviance - Individual Level Data on Non-Prisoners

Most of the research examining the relationship between religion and deviance since 1985, studied samples of free citizens analyzed at the individual level. Of the seventeen studies of this type, thirteen found a statistically significant inverse relationship between some measures of religion and deviance (Brownfield and Sorenson, 1991; Chadwick and Top, 1993; Cochran, 1988; Cochran, 1989; Cochran and Akers, 1989; Cochran et al., 1994; Ellis and Thompson, 1989; Evans et al., 1996; Fernquist, 1995; Free, 1994; Grasmick et al., 1991; Sloane and Potvin 1986; Welch and Tittle, 1991). Four studies did not produce evidence of such a relationship between the two measures (Benda, 1995; Benda, 1997; Evans et al., 1995; Ross, 1994). Below, each of the studies are described in the chronological order in which they were published.

Sloane and Potvin (1986) studied a sample of self-reported delinquency for 1,121 male and female adolescents, age's thirteen through eighteen, who were randomly drawn

from a master sample of the Gallup organization. The authors calculated odds ratios of the relationship between religious participation and personal religiosity and twelve distinct measures of deviance. The results indicated that both religious participation and personal religiosity were associated with delinquency. With regard to religious participation, most measures of deviance (with the exception trespass, major theft, serious fight, and gang fight) displayed a significant and inverse association. Nearly, all measures of deviance, (except for major theft) were significant and negatively associated with personal religiosity. The strongest effect was for general status offenses and drug use, but the weakest was for those offenses involving interpersonal violence, or fighting. The authors concluded that frequent church attenders and those who claim considerable religious influence have much lower odds of committing the deviant offenses measured than non-church attenders.

Cochran (1988) studied self-reported delinquency from a non-random sample of 3,065 male and female adolescents, attending grades seven through twelve in public secondary schools in three midwestern states. In order to test Burkett and White's (1974), anti-ascetic hypothesis, the author calculated logistic regression for measures of deviance on two measures of religion - personal religiosity and religious participation. The measures of deviance were (1) secular deviance - delinquency (vandalism, motor vehicle theft, assault, weapon use, minor theft, and major theft); and (2) ascetic deviance - hard drug use (stimulants, depressants, psychedelics, and narcotics), premarital sex, marijuana use, and alcohol use (beer, wine, liquor). With the exception of the effect of religious participation on assault and the effect of personal religiosity on vandalism and

alcohol use (specifically, the use of beer and wine), all of the parameter estimates were statistically significant and negative, although these relationships were moderate to weak. Cochran concluded that religion was significant and inversely related to both secular and ascetic deviance, which is contrary to Burkett and White's anti-ascetic hypothesis.

In a later analysis of the same data, Cochran (1989) again found a weak to moderate, statistically significant, inverse relationship between religion and deviance, with three exceptions; the effect of personal religiosity on both vandalism and use of wine and the effect of religious participation on assault. Cochran combined the measures of religion into a composite index and then categorized respondents as either strongly or weakly religious. Using the religion index, the maximum cumulative influence of religion on self-reported delinquency was considerably more powerful than that suggested by the independent relative effects. In every model examined, the probability of involvement in deviance was substantially less for those who claim to be strongly religious, than for the weakly religious. Cochran concluded that the combined effect of multidimensional religion was greater than the independent effects of these dimensions.

In a third analysis of these data, Cochran and Akers (1989) regressed ascetic and secular measures of deviance on three measures of religion - personal religiosity, religious participation, and global. The findings provided clear support for the anti-ascetic hypothesis: each of the three religion measures had a statistically significant inverse effect on the self-reported frequency of alcohol use; and two of the religion measures, personal religiosity and religious participation, had a statistically significant inverse effect on the self-reported frequency of marijuana use. Cochran and Akers

concluded that this re-analysis provides support for Burkett and White's (1974) anti-ascetic thesis.

Ellis and Thompson (1989) administered questionnaires to 138 male and 216 female undergraduates at Minot State University during the 1984 academic year, to determine if students who report being bored with church were more likely to be deviant than those who are not. The researchers used seven indicators of personal religiosity, one indicator of religious affiliation, two indicators of religious participation and seven measures of deviance, and found support for the argument that there is a relationship between religion and deviance. When controlling for church service boredom, the partial correlations were substantially reduced for observed relationships. The authors concluded that their results provided evidence that the inverse relationship between religion and crime is largely a spurious correlation of neurological origin.

Brownfield and Sorenson (1991) studied 800 white male adolescents who were a part of the Seattle Youth Study, a project which employed a stratified random sample to assess the validity and reliability of self-reported delinquent behavior. The authors were interested in determining whether religious institutions act as a source of social support, along with parents in reducing drug use. They regressed a composite indicator of deviance on single indicators of religion: participation, affiliation, and personal religiosity. The findings indicated that all measures of religion were strongly and negatively associated with self-reported drug use. Adolescents who identified themselves as Catholic, Jewish, or Protestant, were less likely to use drugs than adolescents who report no religious affiliation. The authors concluded that adolescents with high levels of

religion were less likely to use drugs than adolescents who were unconcerned with religion.

Grasmick et al. (1991) studied a random sample of 285 adults, who were a part of an annual Oklahoma city survey in the spring of 1989. The respondent's names were drawn from the R. L. Polk Directory and interviewed face to face, to determine if affiliation with a fundamentalist denomination and personal religiosity affect a person's intention to commit tax cheating, theft, and littering. The researchers regressed three measures of deviance on religious affiliation and religious participation. For tax cheating, religious participation had a significant inverse effect on the intention to commit the offense, as did being a fundamentalist Protestant. Religious participation also had a significant inverse effect on the intention to commit littering, but no association was detected for religious affiliation. The researchers concluded that the results for tax cheating and littering provide support for the anti-ascetic hypothesis and secular social disorganization hypothesis.

Welch and Tittle (1991) studied a random sample of 2,667 adult Catholics who were a part of a Notre Dame study of parish life to determine if active Catholics were less likely to commit various types of deviance, than their counterparts who reside in parish communities with lower religious standards. The three measures of deviance have a significant and inverse relationship with a multi-dimensional measure of personal religiosity. The authors concluded that the data support the argument that contextual religion is a relevant factor affecting individual deviance.

Chadwick and Top (1993) administered a mail questionnaire in the spring of 1990 to a non-random sample of 1,398 teenagers enrolled in LDS seminary (religious instruction classes) between the ages of 14 and 19, living in six states and the District of Columbia. The purpose of the study was to determine if religion is negatively related to deviance only in highly religious climates. Four measures of deviance were regressed on three multiple indicators of religion - personal religiosity, religious participation, and religious networks. Personal religiosity and religious networks had the strongest relationship to delinquency. Religious belief was a significant factor in predicting property offenses for boys, but not for girls. Church attendance was significant in predicting victimless offenses for both boys and girls. Private religious behavior (which is a measure of the importance or salience of religion) was a significant predictor for all types of deviance among both boys and girls. Finally, religious networks (integration in the local congregation) were a significant factor for boys, but not for girls. The authors concluded that religion made a significant contribution in predicting delinquency, even when compared to peer and family influence.

Cochran et al. (1994) studied a non-random sample of 1093 male and female adolescents and young adults, ages 15-21, attending grades 9 through 12 at high schools located in five Oklahoma school districts, to determine if the inhibitory influence of religion on deviance was indeed spurious. The researchers used three single indicators of religion - religious participation, personal religiosity and religious affiliation. Six measures of deviance were also used. For every category of delinquency examined, the effect of the religion variables decline when arousal and social control factors were added

to the model. With regard to assault, theft, vandalism, illicit drug use and truancy, the effect of religion was reduced to statistical insignificance. Both religious participation and personal religiosity remained strong significant predictors of alcohol and tobacco use after arousal and control factors were added to the model. The authors concluded that the religion-delinquency relationship appeared to be spurious with regard to assault, theft, vandalism, illicit drug use and truancy.

Free (1994) administered a self-report questionnaire to a non-random sample of 916 students at two universities enrolled in sociology classes during 1988, to determine if (1) an inverse relationship between religion and deviance exist and (2) if the inverse relationship between religion and deviance varied by religious affiliation, such that the relationship is stronger for proscriptive Protestants than for non-proscriptive Protestants; and (3) if the inverse relationship between religion and deviance is stronger for intentional deviance than impulsive deviance. One is, a medium-size, private university in the southwest which attracts predominately proscriptive Protestants. The other is a two-year transfer institution that is affiliated with a major Midwest state university, which primarily attracts Catholics and non-proscriptive Protestants. The study found a moderate negative association between the measures of religion and those of impulsive and intentional deviance. Proscriptive Protestants consistently accounted for a greater amount of the variance in deviance, than religion among non-proscriptive Protestants.

Ross (1994) administered a self-report questionnaire to a random sample of predominately white Catholic, male (154) and female (117) college undergraduate students, ages 17-23 at Sexton Hall University in South Orange New Jersey, in order to

determine if religion was a significant factor relative to other social control variables in explaining deviance. The author used a multidimensional measure of religion - global religion and a single indicator of religion - religious participation and one measure of deviance. The findings indicated that neither measure of religion was significantly associated with deviance. The significant variables in explaining deviance were moral beliefs, family attachment and respect for authority. Ross concluded that neither multidimensional or unidimensional measures of religion were significant variables for explaining deviance, lending support to Hirschi's Hellfire hypothesis.

Benda (1995) administered a self-reported questionnaire to 1,093 adolescents, grades 9 -12 in five schools to determine if (1) anti-ascetic behaviors are more influenced by religion than are crimes against property and persons; (2) social control bonds inhibit various forms of delinquency and explain the relationship between religion and anti-ascetic behaviors; and (3) the deterrent effects of religion on delinquency among adolescents is strongest in rural Arkansas communities, and stronger in Little Rock than in Baltimore. Benda used one multi-dimensional indicator of religion and seven measures of deviance. Religion was modestly, but positively related to certain forms of deviance and unrelated to the use of amphetamines and crimes against persons. Religion was an antecedent factor that has effects that are fully mediated through other more proximate elements of social control and provides some support for the moral communities hypothesis.

A later analysis by Benda (1997) designed to test reciprocal relationships found a non-significant, but positive relationship between religion and alcohol and drug use.

Also evident was a significant and positive association between religion and criminal behavior. A reciprocal relationship was observed for alcohol use, but not for drug use and crime. Religion was not significantly related to alcohol use, but alcohol consumption was inversely related to religion.

Evans et al. (1995) administered a self-report survey to a random sample of 477 white adults who reside in a midwestern urban area, to determine the magnitude religion inhibits adult deviance and to what extent the relationship between religion and deviance is spurious. Using a multi-dimensional indicator of religion - global religion and a single indicator of religion - religious affiliation and one measure of deviance, they found that neither measure of religion was related to deviance.

Fernquist (1995) administered a self-report questionnaire to a non-random sample of 178 college students in Utah during the 1989-90 school year, to determine if religion was negatively related to victim and victimless delinquency for students residing in conservative religious environments. Fernquist used one multiple indicator of religion - religious participation and two measures of deviance. In the bivariate model, a significant and inverse association was observed for victimless and victim delinquency and religious participation. When maternal attachment, parental attachment, gender, and peer associations were included in the model, the results indicated a significant and inverse association between religion and victimless delinquency and no association with victim delinquency.

Evans et al. (1996) administered a self-report questionnaire to a random sample of 263 adolescents attending public high school in grades 10 through 12 located in a middle-

class suburb of a large Midwestern city, to determine the impact of religion on deviance, relative to secular social bonds. The researchers used one single indicator of religion - religious networks, one multiple indicator of religion - global religion, and two measures of deviance. General delinquency was not inhibited by either personal religiosity or religious networks. Anti-ascetic acts were not associated with personal religiosity, but had a significant and inverse association with religious networks.

Religion and Deviance - Individual Level of Analysis of Prisoners

Since 1984, researchers have cited the virtual neglect of the religion variable when investigating religion and the prison population. Despite this concern, to date, only a few studies have examined religious participation as an important indicator of either prison adjustment (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson, 1984; Johnson et al., 1997) or of post release adjustment (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson et al., 1997). Among these, two produced evidence of a statistically significant inverse association between religion and deviance (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson et al., 1997), and one did not (Johnson, 1984). These three studies are described below.

Johnson (1984) collected data on 782 inmates released from Apalachee Correctional Institution in Chattahoochee, Florida from 1978 – 1982, to determine if (1) a greater degree of religion is likely to reduce the amount of disciplinary confinement; (2) if an inmate's religion lowers the likelihood that they will receive disciplinary confinement; and (3) if the frequency of attendance at institutional church services and

Table 1. Studies of the Effect of Religion on Deviant Behavior
Methodological Details for Individual Level of Analysis

Study	Date Years	Study Method	Sample Type & Population	Place	Type of Statistical Analysis	Methods for Establishing Causal Order (see text for details)	Test Interacts	# of Cases	Measurement of Religion	Measurement of Deviant(s)	Sign. & Significance
Sloane and Potvin 1988	1975	Survey	Random sample n=1121 adolescents ages 13-18	nationally, all geographical regions	Odds Ratio	No	No	0	Religious Participation	Truancy	sig. -
									Run away	sig. -	
									Sexual Intercourse	sig. -	
									Alcohol	sig. -	
									Marijuana	sig. -	
									Other Drugs	sig. -	
									Trespass	non sig. -	
									Damage school property	sig. -	
									Minor theft	sig. -	
									Major theft	non sig. -	
									Serious fight	non sig. -	
									gang fight	non sig. -	
								Personal Religiosity	Truancy	sig. -	
									Run away	sig. -	
									Sexual Intercourse	sig. -	
									Alcohol	sig. -	
									Marijuana	sig. -	
									Other Drugs	sig. -	
									Trespass	sig. -	
									Damage school property	sig. -	
									Minor theft	non sig. -	
									Major theft	sig. -	
									Serious fight	sig. -	
									gang fight	sig. -	
Cochran, J. K. 1988	Mid 1970's	Survey	Non-random sample n=3065 adolescents 7th-12th grades	Three Mid-Western States	MLE	No	Yes	4	Personal Religiosity	Delinquency(6)	sig. -
									Hard Drug Use ((4)	sig. -	
									Premarital Sex	sig. -	
									Marijuana Use	sig. -	
									Alcohol Use (3)	non sig. -	
									Delinquency (6)	sig. -	
									Hard Drug Use (4)	sig. -	
									Premarital Sex	sig. -	
									Marijuana Use	sig. -	
									Alcohol Use (3)	sig. -	
Cochran, J. K. 1989	1979	Survey	Non-random sample n=3065 adolescents 7th-12th grades	Three Midwestern States	MLE	No	Yes	4	Personal Religiosity	Premarital Sex	sig. -
									Vandalism	non sig. -	
									Auto theft	sig. -	
									Assault	sig. -	
									Weapon Use	sig. -	
									Minor Theft	sig. -	
									Major Theft	sig. -	
									Stimulants	sig. -	
									Depressants	sig. -	
									Psychedelics	sig. -	
									Narcotics	sig. -	
									Marijuana	sig. -	
									Beer	sig. -	
Wine	non sig. +										
Liquor	sig. -										

The number in the parenthesis indicates the number of indicators for the measure

Table 1 (Continued). Studies of the Effect of Religion on Deviant Behavior
Methodological Details for Individual Level of Analysis

Study	Year	Study Method	Sample Type & Population	Place	Type of Statistical Analysis	Network To Religion Control Order	Test Statistic	# of Controls	Measurement of Religion	Measurement of Deviance	Sign & Significance
Cochran et al. 1984		Survey	Non-random sample n=1591 adolescents and young adults 9th-12th graders, ages 15-21	Oklahoma	OLS LISREL	Yes	No	14	Religious Participation Personal Religiosity Religious Affiliation	Interpersonal Delinquency(5) Property-Theft Delinquency(5) Property-Damage Delinquency(5) Illicit Drug Use(2) Use of Legalized Drugs(3) Truancy Interpersonal Delinquency(5) Property-Theft Delinquency(5) Property-Damage Delinquency(5) Illicit Drug Use(2) Use of Legalized Drugs(3) Truancy Interpersonal Delinquency(5) Property-Theft Delinquency(5) Property-Damage Delinquency(5) Illicit Drug Use(2) Use of Legalized Drugs(3) Truancy	non sig. - non sig. + non sig. + non sig. - sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. + non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. + non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - non sig. + non sig. -
Free, M. D. 1994	1988	Survey	Non-random sample n=916 college students ages 17-20. 96% white	Southwest Midwest	OLS		No	5	Global (8) Religious Affiliation (Prospect) Religious Affiliation (Non Prospective Protestant) Religious Affiliation (Catholic)	Intentional Deviance Impulsive Deviance	sig. - sig. - sig. - non sig. -
Ross, L. 1984	1989	Survey	Systematic Random sample n=271 predominately white Catholic college students	New Jersey	OLS	Yes	No	8	Global (5) Religious Participation	Total Deviance(8)	non-sig. - non-sig. -
Benda, B. 1995		Survey	Random Sample from 5 schools n=1093 9th-12th grade adolescents, ages 13-20 58% white, 36% black, and 5 % other	Little Rock, AK (24) Baltimore, MD (360) rural AK (467)	OLS	No	Yes	9	Global (8)	Property Offense(5) Person Offense(3) Status Offense(3) Marijuana Use Alcohol Use Heavy Alcohol Use Amphetamine Use	sig. + sig. + sig. + non sig. + sig. + sig. + non sig. +
Evans et al. 1995		Survey	Random sample n=477 urban community white adults	Midwestern urban area	OLS	Yes	Yes	10	Global (3) Religious Affiliation	Criminal Acts (41)	non sig. - non-sig. -
Farnquist, R. M. 1995	1989- 90	Survey	Non-Random Sample n=178 college students (82% white)	Utah	OLS	No	No	4	Religious Participation (2)	Victim Delinquency (2) Victimless Delinquency(3)	non sig. - sig. -
Evans et al. 1995		Survey	Random sample n=263 adolescents 10th-12th graders who reside in middle to upper middle class suburbs	Midwestern city	OLS	No	Yes	11	Global (3) Religious Networks	General Crime Scale Anti-Ascetic Crime Sub-Scale General Crime Scale Anti-Ascetic Crime Sub-Scale	non sig. - non sig. - non sig. - sig. -
Benda, B. 1997		Survey	random sample from 5 schools n=1093 adolescents	Midwestern city	OLS Two-Stage	Yes	No	6	Global (8)	Alcohol Use Drug Use(7) Criminal Behavior (8)	non-sig. + non sig. + sig. +

* This study tested for reciprocal relationships
The number in the parenthesis indicates the number of indicators for the measure

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related activities, is related to the likelihood of disciplinary confinement. The results indicated no differences in disciplinary confinement for religious and non-religious inmates on all these measures.

Clear et al. (1992) administered a self-report questionnaire to a non-random sample of 769 inmates in 20 prisons from 12 states, in order to determine if an inmate's religiousness is related to prison adjustment and the number of disciplinary infractions they received. The study employed a triangulation approach, which consisted of (1) administering a questionnaire to inmates; (2) conducting focus group interviews with religious and non-religious inmates; and (3) completing interviews with chaplains, administrators, and correctional officers. Inmates were administered a previously developed questionnaire (Hunt and King 1971), that the researchers adopted as a multifaceted religiousness index for prison contexts. Accordingly, the inmate's commitment to religious beliefs, practice and attitude were assessed. Inmates who rank in the top 20th percentile were considered to be "devout." Using one multiple indicator of religion - global religion and two measures of deviance, they found that an inmate's religiousness was related to infractions, but not to institutional adjustment.

Finally, Johnson et al. (1997) studied a non-random sample of two matched groups of inmates released from four adult male prisons in New York, to determine the impact of religious programs on institutional adjustment and recidivism rates. One group participated in Prison-Fellowship programs and the other group did not. The two groups were matched on key characteristics such as age, race, religious denomination, county of residence, military discharge, minimum sentence, and initial security classification. The

researchers found no overall differences between Prison Fellowship and other inmates on measures of institutional adjustment or recidivism. The level of participation in Prison Fellowship did influence institutional adjustment or recidivism, moreover, high participation prison fellowship inmates were less likely to commit infractions than either low or medium participants and less likely than non-religious inmates to commit serious infractions. However, high participation prison fellowship inmates received more serious infractions than their low participant counterparts. In addition, high prison fellowship participants were significantly less likely than their non-prison fellowship matches to be arrested during the follow-up period.

Religion and Deviance: Aggregate Data

Since 1985, only three studies examined the impact of religion as an inhibitor of deviance at the aggregate individual level of data analysis (Bainbridge, 1989; Junger and Polder, 1993; Pettersson, 1991). All three studies produced some evidence of a statistically significant inverse association between religion and deviance. These studies are described below.

Bainbridge (1989) examined the number of church members per 1,000 population for 75 American Metropolitan areas outside of New England with populations over 500,000 in 1980. He found substantial significant and negative associations between church membership and rates of assault, burglary, larceny, and rape, but no association between church membership and rates of murder and robbery.

Table 2. Studies of the Effect of Religion on Deviant Behavior
Methodological Details for Individual (Prisoners) Level of Analysis

Study	Date Year(s)	Study Method	Sample Type & Population	Place	Type of Statistical Analysis	Methods To Establish Causal Order (if not random)	Test Infers	# of Controls	Measure(s) of Religion	Measure(s) of Deviance	Significance and sign			
Johnson, B 1984	1979 - 82	Cross Sectional	Entire Population released from Apala n=782 adult inmates	Florida	OLS	N/A	No	6	Global (2) Personal Religiosity(2) (Chaplain's Perception of Religious Participation (4)	Institutional Deviance Chaplain's Perception of	non sig. + non sig. + non sig. -			
Clear et al. 1992	1989 & 1990	Quasi-Experimental Cross Sectional Ethnography	Non-Random Sample n=769, matched groups male religious and non religious prisoners 20 prisons in 12 states		OLS	Time Bound Questions	Yes	9	Global (numerous)	Adjustment Infractions	non sig. - sig. -			
Johnson et al. 1997	1992	Quasi-Experimental Cross Sectional	non random sample n=402, matched groups male prison fellowship participants and non-participants, 4 prisons	New York	MLE	N/A	No	5	Religious Participation	Infractions Serious infractions Arrested	Low Participation non sig non sig non sig	Medium Participation non sig non sig	High Participation non sig non sig sig	

The number in the parenthesis indicates the number of indicators for the measure

Pettersson (1991) studied 118 police districts in Sweden to test the relation between religion and crime rates. To measure the religious involvement of each police district, a "Religious Involvement Score" was obtained by adding 1) a measure of the population's involvement in the Church of Sweden and 2) a measure of the population's involvement in free churches. The results indicated that the religious factor is negatively related to violent crimes, crimes against public order, safety and driving under the influence of alcohol, but not to property crimes, moral offenses, and crimes against the narcotics law. For all reported crime, taken together, there was no relationship.

Junger and Polder (1993) examined four different ethnic groups in the Netherlands - -Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese (subdivided into Hindustani, Creoles, Javanese and Dutch boys) - - to determine if crime rates were associated with social integration within a community. Three samples, consisting of 182 Moroccan, 196 Turkish and 206 Surinamese boys between the ages of 12-17 are interviewed. A control group of 204 indigenous Dutch boys of the same socio-economic background was also interviewed. The results showed a modest relation between religion and deviant behavior in some groups, but not for the Hindustanis and Turks. Consequently, the Moral Community thesis was not strongly supported in this research.

Explanations of Religion and Deviance since 1985

Of the eight religion and deviance theories described earlier, three were tested in empirical studies since 1985. These explanations are reviewed below.

Table 3. Studies of the Effect of Religion on Deviant Behavior
Methodological Details for Aggregate Level of Analysis

Study	Date Year(s)	Study Method	Sample Type & Population	Place	Type of Statistical Analysis	Methods to Establish Causal Order	Year Inters	# of Cases	Measure(s) of Religion	Measure(s) of Deviance	Significance & Sign.
Brainbridge 1989	1980	Cross Sectional	n=75 American Metropolitan Areas with populations over 500,000		OLS	N/A	No	5	Religious Participation	Murder Rape Assault Burglary Larceny Robbery	non sig. + sig. - sig. - sig. - sig. - non sig. -
Pettersson 1991	1985	Cross Sectional	n=118 Police Districts entire Swedish population	Sweden	OLS	N/A	No	9	Religious Participation	Crimes of Violence Crimes Against Public Order and Property Crimes Offenses Against Morals Driving Under the Influence of Alcohol Offenses Against Narcotics All Offenses	sig. - sig. - non sig. + non sig. + sig. - non sig. + sig. -
Junger and Polder 1993	1984	Cross Sectional	n=616 Three samples of ethnic groups Turks (196), Moroccans, Surinamese (206), (Hindustani, Creoles, Javanese), boys, ages 12-17 Dutch (206) control group	Netherlands	Correlations	N/A	No	12	Religious Participation (2) Moroccans Turks Hindustani Creoles Javanese Dutch Religious Participation (2) Moroccans Turks Hindustani Creoles Javanese Dutch	Self-Reported Delinquency Police Contact	sig. - non sig. - non sig. + non sig. - sig. - sig. - sig. - sig. - sig. - sig. - non sig. + non sig. - sig. - sig. - non sig. -

The number in the parenthesis indicates the number of indicators for the measure

Anti-Ascetic Thesis

The early literature produced inconsistent findings related to the association between religion and deviance. Middleton and Putney (1962) argued that much of the ambiguity stemmed from the failure of researchers to distinguish two different types of ethical standards; the ascetic and the secular. Ascetic standards, such as abstinence from sensual indulgences, gambling, and the like, is derived primarily from an ascetic religious tradition. In contrast, secular standards proscribe actions which in generally harmful to the social group. Middleton and Putney (1962) hypothesized that the relationship between religion and deviance is stronger in the case of illegal acts that are traditionally condemned by churches, but no longer condemned by all segments of respectable secular opinion. Drawing upon that work, Burkett and White (1974) tested this relationship between religion and victimless offenses, finding that religious participation is more closely related to delinquent offenses condemned by both churches and secular agencies. They also found that religious participation is weakly related to the measure of delinquency involvement used in the original work by Hirschi and Stark (1969). One reason why Hirschi and Stark failed to find a clear relationship between religiosity and delinquency, they contend, was that their measure of delinquency included larceny, vandalism, and assault. In contrast to the conclusions of Hirschi and Stark, Burkett and White found a definite relationship between religious participation and the use of alcohol and marijuana.

Table 4 summarizes the findings for the victimless and victim deviance association with religiosity.³ The studies reviewed provide a total of 268 estimates for measures of deviance and religion. The strongest support for a significant inverse relationship was found for victimless crimes. The data indicate that studies employing measures of victimless delinquency are more likely than those employing measures of victim delinquency, to obtain negative significant relationships between religion and deviance (53 percent vs. 38 percent).

The data in Table 4 also provide strong evidence that studies including victimless offenses and religious participation as a measure of religion are more likely to produce negative significant relationships, than are those that use personal religiosity (75 percent vs. 48 percent). When studies employed a victim offense as the measure of deviance, personal religiosity was as likely as religious participation, to produce a significant negative association (40 percent vs. 38 percent).

Moral Community Thesis

Stark et al.(1982) argued that the relationship between delinquency and religion depends on the extent to which religion is integrated into the social structure of a community. They distinguished moral communities where members are bound by shared religious beliefs from secular communities where religion is treated as a private matter. Stark et al. (1982, pg. 113) argue "it is not whether an individual kid goes to church or believes in hell that influences his or her delinquency. What is critical is whether the

³ Table 4 does not provide estimates for the individual level studies which examined the religiosity-deviance relationship on prison populations since it is difficult to ascertain if the measures of deviance were victim or victimless. Additionally, Table 4 does not provide estimates for relationships which were not significant in the Chadwick study, since those results were not reported in the study.

Table 4. Summary Of Findings For Religion and Deviance Literature Examining Victim And Victimless Offenses

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RELIGION DIMENSION	VICTIMLESS DEVIANCE						VICTIM DEVIANCE						Grand Total	
	Personal Religiosity	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	Total	Personal Religiosity	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	Total		
ASSOCIATION FOUND														
Negative and Significant	29	30	5	1	1	66	26	20	3	4	2	55	121	
Positive and Significant					4	4	1	1			2	4	8	
Total	29	30	5	1	5	70	27	21	3	4	4	59	129	
Negative and Not Significant	21	6	4		3	34	29	21	9		3	62	96	
Positive and Not Significant	10	4	4		3	21	9	11	2			22	43	
Total	31	10	8	0	6	55	38	32	11	0	3	84	139	
GRAND TOTAL	60	40	13	1	11	125	65	53	14	4	7	143	268	

majority of the child's friends are religious." Thus, in communities where most adolescents are religious, those who are religious will be less delinquent than in communities where most adolescents are not religious.

Stark et al. (1982) analyzed data based on a national sample of 16 year old boys from eight-seven high schools, to determine the impact of religious communities on the religion - delinquency relationship. They found that in communities where religious commitment is the norm, religion was negatively related to both official and self-reported measures of delinquency. In contrast, in secularized communities, devout adolescents were no less delinquent than those who were less religious. Overall the results indicated a substantial negative relationship between religious commitment and delinquency in the great majority of schools.

Seven of the twenty-three studies in this literature review test the moral community hypothesis (Benda, 1995; Cochran, 1989; Chadwick and Top, 1993; Evans et al., 1995; Evans et al., 1996; Junger and Polder, 1993; Welch and Tittle, 1991). Six of the seven studies (Benda, 1995; Cochran, 1989; Chadwick and Top, 1993; Evans et al., 1995; Evans et al., 1996; Junger and Polder, 1993) did not find support for Stark's moral communities thesis. One study (Welch et al., 1991) provided some evidence for the moral communities thesis. Table 5 provides a summary of the findings for the studies that examined the moral community thesis.

Cochran and Akers 1989. Cochran and Akers tested the Moral Communities thesis by creating an aggregate religion score from the twenty-one schools participating in the Boys Town project. The schools in which more than 50 percent of the respondents

claimed to be very religious were categorized as “moral communities.” The others were categorized as “secular communities.” An interaction term was created for each religion measure (personal religiosity, religious participation, and global religion) and aggregate religion. Neither aggregate religion nor the interaction terms attained statistical significance. Based on these results, Cochran and Akers concluded that their findings did not support the Moral Communities thesis.

Welch and Tittle 1991. To test the moral community thesis, Welch and Tittle score the aggregate measure of community religion for each Catholic parish in their sample to represent parishes that display low, moderate, and high levels of religion. Next, they formed interaction terms for combinations of personal religiosity and parish level religion. Crime was regressed on these terms, along with all other variables in the full additive models. Their findings were generally supportive of some aspects of the Moral Community thesis.

Junger and Polder 1993. Junger and Polder tested the Moral Community thesis by comparing the average religion levels for Moroccans and Turks, who represent moral communities, and the indigenous Dutch who represent a secular community. The average religion levels were obtained by a number of questions about praying and attendance at a place of worship. Next, the average level of religion was correlated with self-reported delinquency for each group. A relationship was found between religion and delinquency for the Dutch and Moroccan boys, but not for the Turks. The Moral Community thesis was not supported.

Chadwick and Top 1993. Chadwick and Top tested the Moral Community thesis by grouping their sample to high and low religious climates. Respondents residing in Southern California, Central Utah, and Southern Idaho were categorized as living in high religious climates and respondents residing in Delaware, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Washington, D.C. and West Virginia were categorized as living in low religious climates. Several measures of religion were correlated with deviance for each group. The correlations between religion and deviance among youth living in low religious climates were similar to those of youth who live in high religious climates, not supporting the Moral Community thesis.

Benda 1995. Benda tested the hypothesis that the inhibitive effects of religion on deviance among adolescents was strongest in rural Arkansas communities, and stronger in Little Rock Arkansas, than in Baltimore Maryland. Few interactions between personal religion and community were statistically significant, and those that were, accounted for less than one percent of the variance in deviance. Benda concluded that there was little indication that the Moral Community thesis was related to delinquency.

Evans et al. 1995. Evans et al. formed product-interactions for combinations of personal religion, social ecology measures, and religious networks. When crime was regressed on these terms, along with all other variables in the full additive models, no significant patterns of joint effects were obtained.

Evans et al. 1996. Evans et al. created an aggregate religiosity measure for the sample's religious context by estimating the respondent's self-reports of the religiousness of their five closest friends. The regression model was then re-estimated with the

product interaction terms for personal religiosity and religious networks. Religious effects did not depend on the number of religious friends.

Spurious Association Thesis

Some social scientists argue that the inverse relationship between religion and deviance found in many earlier studies is a spurious association. They contend that the apparent effects of religion are really effects of other forces of social control that share an association with religion. Since 1985, six (Clear et al., 1992; Cochran et al., 1994; Ellis and Thompson, 1989; Evans et al., 1995; Evans et al., 1996; Fernquist, 1995) of the twenty-three studies indicated that some or all of the measures of religion may possibly be the result of a spurious association. Table 6 provides a summary of these findings.

Ellis and Thompson 1989. This study examined seven single indicators of personal religiosity, two single indicators of religious participation, one single indicator of religious affiliation and seven measures of deviance which produced a total of forty-four bivariate correlations. After controlling for arousal/boredom with church services, thirty-four of the associations disappeared, three of the associations become weaker but remain significant, two of the associations become stronger, and one association did not change. The authors argued that these results provide evidence that the inverse relationship between religion and deviance is largely a spurious correlation of neurological origin.

Clear et al. 1992. In this study, the bivariate analysis indicated that global religion is related to both infractions and adjustment. After controlling for depression,

Table 5. Summary Of Findings Examining The Moral Community Thesis

Author(s)	All Crime		Victim Crime/Delinquency		Victimless Delinquency	
	Moral Community	Secular Community	Moral Community	Secular Community	Moral Community	Secular Community
Cochran & Akers						
Alcohol						
Personal Religiosity						-0.90*
Religious Participation						-0.257*
Global Religiosity						-0.067
Aggregate Religiosity						0.099
AR*PR						0.018
AR*RP						0.01
AR*GR						-0.235
Marijuana						
Personal Religiosity						-0.249*
Religious Participation						-.300*
Global Religiosity						0.055
Aggregate Religiosity						-.015
AR*PR						0.001
AR*RP						0.032
AR*GR						-.116
Welch and Tittle						
Drinking						
Tax Evasion						-.100**
Personal Use						-.055**
Chadwick and Top						
Boys						
Attitudes	-.26**	-.25**	-.08	-.25**	-.28**	-.21**
Behavior	-.34**	-.31**	-.08	-.26**	-.38**	-.38**
Girls						
Attitudes	-.14	-.24**	-.16***	-.19**	-.11	-.23**
Behavior	-.43**	-.38**	-.26**	-.24**	-.42**	-.38**
Junger and Polder						
Self-Reported						
Moroccans			-.21**			
Turks			-.06			
Dutch				-.21***		
Police Contact						
Moroccans			-.21***			
Turks			0.07			
Dutch				-.04		
Benda						
Rural						
Marijuana- Religiosity						0.00
Religiosity X Region						-.01*
Alcohol Use-Religiosity						.01*
Religiosity X Region						.01*
Heavy Alcohol Use - Religiosity						0.01
Religiosity X Region						0.00
Amphetamine Use-Religiosity						0.00
Religiosity X Region						0.00
Status Offense						.02*
Religiosity X Region						-.00
Property Crime-Religiosity			.03*			
Religiosity X Region			-.01			
Person Crime-Religiosity			.01*			
Religiosity X Region			-.00			

* Significant at .05
 ** Significant at .01
 *** Significant at .001

Table 5. Summary Of Findings Examining The Moral Community Thesis

Authors	All Crime		Victim Crime/Delinquency		Victimless Delinquency	
	Moral Community	Secular Community	Moral Community	Secular Community	Moral Community	Secular Community
Little Rock						
Marijuana- Religiosity					0.00	
Religiosity X Region					-.00	
Alcohol Use-Religiosity					.01**	
Religiosity X Region					-.00	
Heavy Alcohol Use - Religiosity					0.01	
Religiosity X Region					-.00	
Amphetamine Use-Religiosity					0.00	
Religiosity X Region					0.00	
Status Offense					0.02	
Religiosity X Region					-.01*	
Property Crime-Religiosity			.02*			
Religiosity X Region			-.01			
Person Crime-Religiosity			.01*			
Religiosity X Region			-.01			
Baltimore						
Marijuana- Religiosity					0.00	
Religiosity X Region					-.00	
Alcohol Use-Religiosity					.01**	
Religiosity X Region					-.01**	
Heavy Alcohol Use - Religiosity					.01*	
Religiosity X Region					-.01**	
Amphetamine Use-Religiosity					0.00	
Religiosity X Region					.01**	
Status Offense					0.01	
Religiosity X Region					.02**	
Property Crime-Religiosity		.02**				
Religiosity X Region		-.01				
Person Crime-Religiosity		.02**				
Religiosity X Region		.01**				
Evans et al. (1996)						
Evans et al. (1996)						

Evans et al. results were not reported in their Tables

The Cochran and Akers and Welch and Tittle studies did not report results according to moral or secular community

* Significant at .05
 ** Significant at .01
 *** Significant at .001

race, age, self-esteem and mastery, the association observed for global religion was no longer associated with adjustment.

Cochran et al. 1994. Cochran et al. tested the spurious association hypothesis for six dependent variables - interpersonal delinquency, property-theft delinquency, property-damage delinquency, illicit drug use, use of legalized drugs, and truancy. Four models were estimated (1) Model 1 contained controls for age, gender, race/ethnicity, and rural residency status; (2) Model 2 contained controls for three arousal theory variables; (3) Model 3 contained controls for six control measures; and Model 4, contained controls for the influence of both arousal and control measures. These four models were estimated for each of the forms of deviance. The religion-delinquency relationship was reduced or eliminated when controls were added to the models for assault, theft, vandalism, illicit drug use, and truancy. Religious participation and personal religiosity maintained significant negative effects only on alcohol and tobacco use after controls for arousal and social control were added to the model.

Evans et al. 1995. This study controlling for age, sex, and family income found a significant and inverse association for global religion, but not for religious affiliation. When secular constraints and ecological controls were included in the model, the observed association in Model 1 for global religion disappeared.

Fernquist 1995. In this study the bivariate correlations indicated that religious participation was negatively related with both victim and victimless delinquency. When controls were included for maternal attachment, parental attachment, gender, and peer association, the association between religious participation and victimless delinquency

became weaker, but was still significant; however, the association for victim delinquency disappeared.

Evans et al. 1996. This study had two models. In Model 1, which controlled for age, gender, race/ethnicity, and social class, a significant and inverse relationship was observed for global religion and religious networks. In Model 2, which controlled for social bonds (attachments to parents, friends, and teachers), school commitment, stake in conformity, involvement, and conventional beliefs, the associations for global religion and religious networks in Model 1 diminished.

The Effectiveness of Multiple vs. Single Indicators of Religion

The majority of earlier studies employed various single item indicators to measure religion. However, several researchers note that religion contains several different dimensions that might have unique relationships to deviance (Clear et al., 1992; Cornwall, 1989) and consequently utilizing a single indicator, may be a poor predictor of religion (Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1984; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; Tittle and Welch, 1983). More specifically, "multiple dimensional measures of religiousness are generally considered preferable to unidimensional measures because they tap a variety of aspects of religiousness beyond mere participation" (Clear et al., 1992, pg 10).

As with the earlier studies which assessed the religion - deviance association, most of the studies in this review employed single, rather than multiple indicators to measure religion (219 vs. 49). The data in Table 7 indicate that studies which employed multiple indicators were more likely to provide evidence of a significant inverse association between religion and deviance, than studies which employed single indicators

**Table 6. Summary Of Findings For Religion And Deviance Literature
Examining Spurious Associations**

RELIGION DIMENSION		Personal Religiosity	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global
Author	Dependent Variable					
Ellis and Thompson, 1989	Official Contacts	n.s/(2) n.c.(3)	n.s	n.s.		
	Serious Crimes	n.s./(3) sig/-	n.s.	sig/-		
	Delinquent Offenses	n.s./(5) sig/-(2)	n.s.			
	Drug Offenses	n.s./(10) sig/(2)	n.s./(3)	n.s./(2)		
	Family Offenses	n.s./(4)	n.s.			
Clear et al., 1992	Adjustment Infractions					n.s. sig/-
Cochran et al., 1994	Interpersonal Delinquency	n.s	n.s			
	Property Theft	n.s	n.s			
	Property Damage		n.s			
	Illicit Drug Use	n.s	n.s	n.c.		
	Legalized Drugs Truancy	sig/- sig/-	sig/- n.s			
Evans et al., 1995	Criminal Acts					n.s
Fernquist 1995	Victim Delinquency		n.s			
	Victimless Delinquency		sig/-			
Evans et al., 1996	General Crime				n.s	n.s
	Anti-ascetic deviance				sig/-	

The number in the parenthesis indicates the number of indicators for the measure

n.s = association disappears

sig/- = association became less supported of the religiosity thesis, but still significant

n.c. = no change or stronger

(59 percent vs. 44 percent).⁴ Interestingly, these data also indicate that studies which employed a victimless offense as the measure of deviance and use a single item indicator as a measure of religion, were more likely to produce a significant and inverse association than studies which employed a multiple item indicator of religion (54 percent vs. 44 percent). Similarly, studies which employed a victim offense as the measure of deviance and use a multiple item indicator as a measure of religion, were more likely to produce a significant and inverse association than studies which employed a single item measure of religion (67 percent vs. 34 percent).

Additionally, these data indicate that studies which employed a victimless offense as the measure of deviance and use a single item indicator measure of religion, religious participation was more likely to produce a significant and inverse association than personal religiosity (74 percent vs. 44 percent). However, when a multiple item indicator of religion was used, personal religiosity was as likely as religious participation to produce a significant and inverse association.

Finally, these data indicate that studies which employ a victim offense as the measure of deviance and use a single item indicator measure of religion, show that religious participation was slightly more likely to produce a significant and inverse association than personal religiosity (36 percent vs. 32 percent). However, when a multiple item indicator of religion was used, personal religiosity was more likely than

⁴ Table 7 does not provide estimates for the individual level studies which examined the religiosity-deviance hypothesis for prisoners since it could not be determined if the measure(s) of deviance were victimless.

religious participation to produce a significant and inverse association (89 percent vs. 50 percent).

Methodological Critique

Eighteen of the twenty-three studies examining the relationship between religion and deviance since 1985, provided evidence of a statistically significant and inverse relationship between some measures of religion and deviance. Although statistical significant associations were detected, the studies were not successful in establishing evidence of causality. This is a product of two inherent problems (research design and measurement error) and other methodological difficulties in studying religion and deviance. These issues are discussed later in this section.

Whereas, in most research, distinct patterns can be detected among studies with conflicting or inconclusive findings (Black, 1993; Cooper, 1989; Kleck, 1997), this was not the case with empirical studies examined in this review. Differences in measurement, research design, data collection, sampling and data analysis interpretation, did not differ significantly among those studies supporting the religion-deviance hypothesis and others not supporting this thesis. Therefore, the discussion in this section does not specifically focus on patterns that may have produced conflicting and/or inconclusive findings, but instead highlights methodological flaws that affect the findings of studies which support and do not support the religion-deviance hypothesis.

The first problem is that of research design, moreover, the inability of the investigator to employ the strongest research design in order to guard against rival explanations of causality, once an association is detected. Through the process of

Table 7. Summary Of Findings For Religion and Deviance Literature Examining The Effectiveness of Single and Multiple Item Indicators of Religion

SINGLE INDICATORS

RELIGION DIMENSION	VICTIMLESS DEVIANCE					VICTIM DEVIANCE					Grand Total
	Personal Religious	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	Personal Religious	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	
ASSOCIATION FOUND											
Negative and Significant	24	28	5	1	1	18	14	4	1		96
Positive and Significant							1				1
Total	24	28	5	1	1	18	15	4	1	0	97
Negative and Not Significant	21	6	4			29	15	8			83
Positive and Not Significant	10	4	4		1	9	9	2			39
Total	31	10	8	0	1	38	24	10	0	0	122
GRAND TOTAL	55	38	13	1	2	56	39	14	1	0	219

MULTIPLE INDICATORS

RELIGION DIMENSION	VICTIMLESS DELINQUENCY/CRIME					VICTIM DELINQUENCY/CRIME					Grand Total
	Personal Religious	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	Personal Religious	Religious Participation	Religious Affiliation	Religious Networks	Global	
ASSOCIATION FOUND											
Negative and Significant	5	2				8	7		3	4	29
Positive and Significant					4	1				2	7
Total	5	2	0	0	4	9	7	0	3	6	36
Negative and Not Significant					3		5			1	9
Positive and Not Significant					2		2				4
Total	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	0	0	1	13
GRAND TOTAL	5	2	0	0	9	9	14	0	3	7	49

randomization, a fundamental principle of the classical experimental design, the researcher is able to ensure equivalence among the study participants in the experimental and control groups. This means that the researcher can take care of numerous controls all at once, without having to know what they are, thereby eliminating many of the known threats to internal validity. Unfortunately, the criminological research that examined the relationship between religion and deviance did not include any classical experimental designs, although this design is considered the best approach to guard against threats to internal validity. Basically these researchers did not have the capability to randomly assign participants assumed to be religious.

Given their inability to employ the classical experimental design, the researchers adopted alternative methods for their studies. Two of these studies (Clear et al., 1992 and Johnson et al., 1997) utilized a quasi-experimental design, in which a non-random sample of prison inmates were matched on key study characteristics. Whereas, conclusions from both studies provide support for an association between some measures of religion and deviance, the inability to control for all known factors imply that there may be alternative explanations for the observed association. With these exceptions, (Bainbridge, 1989; Johnson, 1984; Junger & Polder, 1993; Petterson, 1991) all of the other studies relied upon surveys of samples taken from the population studied, as their primary method of data collection.

Studies that did not provide support for the hypothesized association between religion and deviance, were more likely to employ probability samples. Two of the probability samples involved, were actually random samples taken from a total of five

schools in three different states, which were not comparable in characteristics such as population size, demographics, etc., and are not random samples from the general student population (Benda, 1995 and 1997). Despite this qualifier, the studies with probability samples offer more external validity and greater sample representativeness, than those that do not. The studies that provided support of an association between the study variables employed more non-probability than probability samples (69 percent vs. 31 percent). Additionally, the studies that provided evidence as well as the studies that did not provide evidence of an association between religion and deviance, both contained sample selection biases and consisted of a combination of small, moderate, and large samples. However, the majority of the samples were moderate to large samples. These methodological flaws weaken the studies' conclusions, since the threats to internal validity were not completely eliminated and other unknown explanations may account for the observed relationships. Finally, the use of non-probability samples limited the researcher's ability to generalize their findings to larger populations.

A major methodological problem in the area of studying religion is that of measurement error. This is significant, because religion is an internal belief that cannot be observed directly. Here, researchers attempt to develop constructs to measure this abstract concept, although, they are never sure about measuring individual religious belief or behavior. Despite this, researchers have developed constructs to measure religion and apply appropriate statistical tests to assess the reliability and validity of the religion construct.

Another major problem with the religion and deviance literature, is that prior research and theory were not relied upon to construct operational definitions of religion, with the exception of the three prison studies. As a result, each study utilized a different operational definition of key terms, a practice which contributes to measurement error. For example, the studies that produced evidence of a statistically significant and inverse association between religion and deviance, generally indicated weak to moderate associations which can be attributed to measurement error, which in turn make the associations appear generally weaker than they really are. Studies not supporting the religion deviance hypothesis, used the global measure of religion which is a multiple indicator cutting across two or more religious dimensions, which apparently measures factors which are not related, again, contributing to measurement errors and associations appearing weak to non-existent. Appendix B presents an overview of the various indicators used to construct the global measure of religion for studies that did not support the religion-deviance thesis.

It is clear, too, these researchers did not build upon prior studies in devising operational definitions for the measures of deviance or their selection of control variables. Consequently, each study in this review employed a different operational definition for the measure(s) of deviance as well as control variables. Appendix C presents an overview of the control variables used in these studies. In addition to using different control variables, some studies did not estimate regression equations with control variables. In some instances, they failed to specify whether control variables were significant or not, much less the sign of the coefficient. Further, studies that provided

support for a statistically significant inverse association between religion and deviance, tended to employ fewer control variables than those studies that did not. For example, Sloane and Potvin (1986) did not control for any alternate explanations, Ellis and Thompson (1989) provided two controls and Welch and Tittle (1991) employed three controls. In contrast, the studies that produced no evidence of an association between religion and deviance use a minimum of six controls.

Finally, with the exception of studies by Benda (1997), Chadwick and Top (1993), and Petterson (1991), the other studies did not discuss if the regression assumptions were tested. If they were not and if any of the assumptions were violated, depending on the type and severity of the assumption violated, the findings and conclusions may be significantly different than reported.

Discussion of Findings

This review summarized published research literature since 1985, which considers the relationship between religion and deviance. Since 1985, twenty-three studies explored the relationship between religion and deviance, to determine if religion deters deviance. These results may be added to the extensive body of earlier empirical studies which examined this relationship.

Consistent with earlier reviews (Johnson, 1984; Title and Welch, 1983), the empirical research reviewed here focuses primarily on adolescent populations. Moreover, eleven of the studies focus on adolescents, four analyze college students, six observe adults, and two examine all-aged populations.

All of the studies published since 1985 consist of non-experimental research and rely exclusively upon cross sectional designs. Unfortunately, none of the studies employed panel designs which allow investigators to determine if religion precedes deviance. Also, with the exception of one study published by Benda in 1997, no others tested to determine if there was a reciprocal relationship between religion and deviance. Although, the Benda study indicated that religion was affected by alcohol, the results from this study did not significantly differ from his 1995 study which did not examine reciprocal relationships.

This review also documents that the methodological design and statistical analysis used in these studies are more advanced than statistical analysis utilized earlier. Hence, the studies reviewed here employed more advanced statistical analysis than was applied in earlier studies. More specifically, of the twenty-three studies examined, two used bivariate correctional analysis, one used odds ratio, fourteen used Ordinary Least squares, four used Maximum Likelihood Estimates, one used Linear Structural Relationships (LISREL), and one used Two-Stage Least Squares statistical analysis.

Most of this research (eighteen of twenty-three studies) produced evidence of a statistically significant inverse relationship between some measures of religion and various indicators of deviance, while five studies provide any evidence of a relationship. The studies which provided support for the religion thesis were more likely to (1) use non-random rather than random samples (69 percent v. 31 percent); and (2) use various operational definitions of religion [(personal religiosity (10), religious participation (12), religious affiliation (4), religious network (2), and global (5)); and (3) use fewer control

variables in their analysis than did those that did not. The studies which did not provide support for the religion-deviance thesis were more likely to use multiple indicators of global religion and generally provided more control variables in their analysis. This review indicates that studies using multiple indicators as measures of religion, were more likely than studies using single indicators, to produce significant and inverse associations. However, this does not appear to be the case for the global measure of religion. The multiple indicator of global religion measures more than one dimension of religion, which indicates that this construct is measuring different or unrelated factors. These studies are also more recent, as all have been published since 1994.

In this review, I identified the dimensions and circumstances in which religion is more likely to have a relationship to deviance. For example, consistent with prior research (Burkett and White, 1974; Cochran and Akers, 1989; Grasmick et al., 1991) and prior reviews (Ellis, 1985; Tittle and Welch, 1983), these findings indicate that victimless offenses are more likely than victim offenses to produce a significant inverse association between measures of religion and deviance. Moreover, there is support for Burkett and White's anti-ascetic hypothesis, in that victimless offenses are more likely than victim offenses, to produce significant negative associations (53 percent vs. 38 percent). Likewise, studies which employed victimless offenses and used religious participation as a measure of religion were more likely to produce negative significant relationships, than were those using personal religiosity (75 percent vs. 48 percent). When independent effects of single and multiple indicators are examined, the findings are somewhat different. Studies which employed victimless offenses as the measure of deviance and use

a religious participation measure were more likely to produce a significant inverse association, than studies which used personal religiosity (74 percent vs. 44 percent). On the other hand, when studies employed a victimless offense as the measure of deviance and used multiple indicators, personal religiosity was equally likely to produce a significant inverse association.

The empirical research since 1985 does not support the Moral Community thesis. Six studies tested the idea, five provided no support and one provided some mixed evidence of contextual effects of a religious climate. Although the bulk of this evidence does not support this thesis, it is premature to reject this hypothesis, since these studies (including the one which provided support) have not adequately replicated Stark's thesis. Junger and Polder's (1993) research is the only study which uses communities (Turkish and Moroccan boys) where religion is integrated in the social structure of the community and uses an appropriate control group. The other studies relied solely upon aggregate composite scores calculated from the measures of religion for individuals who were a part of the same school, parish or perhaps city. However, they do not necessarily come from the same community, but primarily reside in communities where religion permeates secular and cultural influences.

Six of the twenty-three studies indicated the possibility of a spurious relationship between some of the measure(s) of religion and measure(s) of deviance, although these results are inconclusive. Only two of the studies were specifically designed to test the spurious association thesis (Cochran et al., 1994 and Ellis and Thompson, 1989). The study by Cochran et al. is the only one which used the appropriate statistical technique to

test for a spurious association, adding credence to their results. The other six studies did not specifically test for a spurious association by using structural equations such as Linear Structural Relations (LISREL), Structural Equations (EQS), or Analysis of moment structures (AMOS). Finally, the findings in this review provide strong support for the use of multiple indicators of religion as opposed to single indicators. Studies that used multiple indicators of religion were more likely than studies that use single indicators, to produce negative significant associations between religion and deviance (59 percent vs. 44 percent). In conclusion, the preponderance of research in this review provides evidence that religion is an effective social control mechanism which reduces the likelihood of an individual participating in delinquent or criminal behavior.

Implications for Research

The empirical research published since 1985 which examines the relationship between religion and crime is prone to three main shortcomings. First, most of these studies rely upon self-report survey measures of religion and delinquent or criminal behavior, rather than actual measures of behavior. Official records of criminal histories are rarely used, and in the few cases where they are, the sample sizes are relatively small. Secondly, the problem of statistical controls are poorly addressed in these studies. Thirdly, most of this research is done with age-specific samples drawn from the general population, primarily adolescents or college students. Consequently, prisoners are a special population who have not been the subject of much study.

The present research addresses these shortcomings by (1) investigating general religious involvement by adult prison inmates; (2) utilizing a significant sample size

using actual behavioral measures of religiosity and deviance rather than simply relying on self-report measures of post-release community adjustment; (3) using more of a precise operational definition of religiousness and introducing seven distinct religion measures to operationalize religion; and (4) applying a more rigorous application of statistical controls based upon theoretical considerations and prior research.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses methodological issues that are empirically relevant to the current work. A description of the study design is offered first. This is followed by a discussion of the sample population. This discussion then turns to problems with the data. Within this section, measurement error and flaws with the FBI data are presented. After this the reader is introduced to the measures used in this study. Within this section, the failure measure, religion measures and co-variates are presented. Finally, a discussion of how the data are analyzed is provided.

The Study Design

This research study is designed to explore the relationship between an inmate's religiousness and their post-release community adjustment as measured by official FBI criminal history reports. The study was carried out by adding official criminal history information to an existing data base that had been collected by Clear et al. (1992) in an earlier research project, which studied the relationship between religion and a prisoner's adjustment to the correctional setting.

The original study design by Clear et al. (1992) was that of a quasi-experimental design of two groups of prisoners; a religious group and a matched non-religious comparison group. In order to qualify for the religious group, an inmate had to complete

at least weekly attendance at religious services or programs during their free time 90 days prior to release and score in the top 20th percentile of a self-report, The "Prisoner Values Survey" (a multifaceted religiousness instrument).⁵ The matching group was comprised of inmate volunteers who did score in the top 20th percentile of the "Prisoners Value Survey and did not meet the church attendance criterion. Five factors were used to match inmates: date of release, age at time of release, ethnicity, number of prior incarcerations and length of time served. In order for an inmate to be considered a match, he had to be of the same age group and ethnicity, have with a release date within sixty days of that of the religious inmate. He also had to match on either their number of prior incarcerations or length of time served on the current sentence, or both, whenever possible. Analysis by Clear et al. (1992) indicate that the "religious" and "non-religious" groups in this sample are extremely comparable, not only on the selected matching criteria, but also with regard to other factors including educational status, marital status, commitment offense, and prior substance abuse history.

The inmates completed a battery of questionnaires about their background characteristics, religious beliefs and activities, and institutional experience, during the last weeks before their release from prison. Within three months after their release, telephone surveys were conducted with those inmates who could be reached by phone. The telephone survey included questions about the ex-inmates' emotional adjustment to freedom, civic and

⁵ The inmate religiousness instrument, a modified and expanded version of the King-Hunt religious belief and practice questions, was developed in conjunction with inmates as a part of previous research conducted by Clear et. al. A full discussion of the development and validation of that instrument can be found in the final report from that research; Clear, Todd, et al. Prisons, Prisoners, and Religion Newark, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1992. The prison adjustment instrument was developed by Kevin Wright.

religious activity, drug and alcohol use and criminal behavior during the three month post-release period. A little more than half of the sample completed the telephone survey.

The original study contained no measures of post-release criminal behavior. This research combines these data with official arrest records. Four types of information are used in this research. The first three types are obtained by the original research team and include 1) an inmate religiousness instrument; 2) a pre-release questionnaire; and 3) a three-month follow-up phone survey. A fourth source of information in this study consists of official criminal history reports, which have been combined with the original data set. This comprehensive data set includes a six year follow-up period, which makes it possible to directly assess the relationship between an inmate's religiousness in prison and their post-release community adjustment.

The Sample Population

The sample population for this study consists of 321 of 447 male inmates Clear et al. conducted a follow-up interview on. The inmates are from twelve prisons scattered throughout the country, who participated in a series of studies examining the relationship between prisoners, prison, and religion. Of these inmates, 173 were classified in the earlier study by Clear et al. (1992) as being "religious" and 147 were classified as being "non-religious". The data consist of attitudinal and behavioral measures taken at the time of release, responses to a telephone survey conducted 90 days after release (58 percent of the subjects completed the follow-up survey) and criminal history information following the sample for more than six years after release.

Problems with the Data

Measurement Error

Several measurement issues affect both the degree to which the religion measures accurately represent the concept they are designed for, and the degree to which the observed variable produces the same results in repeated sampling. Another concern is whether the religion constructs measure the “true” value and is “error-free.” The presence of measurement error can result in the correlation’s appearing to be weaker than they actually are, can result in an association not being detected, and in some instances can make the estimation of statistically significant multivariate models more difficult (Babbie, 1998; Hagan, 1997; Hair, Anderson, Tatham, Black, 1998).

A major problem with studying the relationship between religion and post-release community adjustment is that religion is a concept that is not directly observable. As a result, in any study exploring this relationship, construct(s) are created in order to attempt to measure religion. In developing the construct(s), the researcher can never be completely confident that religious practices or beliefs are actually being measured. In this study, since measurement error cannot be eliminated, several techniques are utilized to keep the error at a minimum. The first was the use of several indicators to measure religion instead of one indicator, where several variables are joined into a composite measure to represent religion. The use of several indicators represent different facets of the concept which provides the possibility of obtaining a more “well-rounded” perspective. According to Babbie (1998) and Hair et al. (1998), multiple measures tend to

perspective. According to Babbie (1998) and Hair et al. (1998), multiple measures tend to be more valid and reliable, as long as the indicators are representing the same concept. By using the “average” or “typical” response to a set of related variables, the measurement error that might occur in a single response is reduced (Hair et al., 1998). Consequently, by creating multiple measures of religion, the reliance on a single indicator is reduced, thereby increasing the validity and reliability of the construct (Babbie, 1998; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996; Hagan, 1997; Hair et al., 1998; Kleck, 1997).

Second, the goal was not only to develop a richer description of religion by using multiple indicators, but also to ensure that all of the indicators were actually measuring religion. In some cases, merely increasing the number of indicators also increases the possibility that the indicators are not all correlated and that they may represent different concepts (Babbie, 1998, Hair et. al., 1998, Kleck, 1997). Therefore, factor analysis was employed to determine general dimensions represented by the collection of indicators and to indicate the degree of association among them.

Flaws With The Data

There were numerous flaws present in the FBI data where codes were created to document evidence of an arrest or incarceration that was not listed in the criminal history report. These problems are discussed below.

1. Official criminal reports from the FBI were collected on 321 of 447 (72 percent) of the offenders in this sample. Approximately 28 percent of the offenders did not have a FBI number or the FBI was not able to produce a criminal record. An attempt was made to supplement these criminal histories

with NCIC criminal histories from the state where the offenders were incarcerated. Due to ethical issues and confidentiality, state officials were reluctant to release this information, although the earlier research team had obtained inmate permission and the FBI already released the criminal histories they were able to locate.

2. Approximately 33 percent of the FBI criminal records did not contain documentation of an arrest for the sample sentence. Therefore, a code was created to document evidence of the sample sentence arrest for which there was no arrest information.
3. Approximately 32 percent of the FBI criminal records did not contain documentation of an arrest for the post release re-arrest. Therefore, a code was created to document evidence of the post release re-arrest for which there was no arrest information.
4. Approximately 3 percent of the FBI criminal records did not contain documentation of an incarceration for the sample sentence. Therefore, a code was created to document evidence of the sample sentence incarceration for which there was no arrest information.
5. Approximately 2 percent of the FBI criminal records did not contain documentation of an incarceration for the post release re-incarceration. Therefore, a code was created to document evidence of the post release re-incarceration for which there was no arrest information.

Measures

The measures in the study consist of the principle variables of interest which are the religiousness measure ("religious" and "non-religious" classification), the religion measures (seven dimensions), the dependent variable (which is the failure measure), and the co-variates, which consist of offender characteristic, risk, and prison adjustment measures.

Failure Measure (Dependent Variable)

In this study the dependent variable is recidivism. Recidivism refers to an offender, who has previously been apprehended, convicted, and presumably rehabilitated by either probation or a prison sentence, has committed another offense (Maltz, 1984). Researchers studying the post-release behavior of prisoners employ a number of different recidivism measures, including arrests, technical violations and/or revocations, convictions, or imprisonment (Hepburn and Albonetti, 1994; Maltz, 1984; Schmidt and Witte, 1988). Research indicates that the best and most practical definitions of recidivism are those based on rearrest (Maltz, 1984; Shinnar and Shinnar, 1975; Visher, Lattemore, and Linster, 1991). Therefore, recidivism is operationalized in the present study as rearrest. Re-arrest refers to any arrest for a felony or misdemeanor and is dichotomized as "rearrest" or "no-rearrest." This information is gathered from the criminal history records ("rap" sheets) obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) which in most instances, contain both state and national data. The date and most serious offense incarcerated for the re-arrest is recorded along with other arrest data. Recidivism is

measured by following the study participants from January 1991 to August 1997, a follow-up period of 80 months. ⁶

Religion Measures (Principle Variable of Interest)

Criminologists and other social sciences have not been able to agree on what religion is, much less operationalize the concept (Comstock, 1995; Cunningham et al., 1995; Glock, 1973; James, 1936; Stark, 1984). As a result, they have not been able to develop a construct to measure what it means to be religious. Therefore, no one knows with complete assurance how “religious” a person is. Religion is a complex construct that includes belief and behaviors that are often internal and often independent of a person’s external religious practices, such as church attendance and participation in various religious activities. Intrinsic feelings about religion may not be well-indicated by what a person verbally expresses. Although development of a religious construct may be poorly represented by self-reports, at this point, we have no other means to assess “religiosity” other than referencing what people themselves say.

In this study, religion is operationalized in two ways. First, following the lead of Clear et al. (1992), the degree of “religiousness” is represented by the variable group, which is the total score inmates received on the “Prisoner Value Survey” (a multidimensional religious measurement instrument, which is a series of situations in the

⁶ Typically in recidivism studies researchers and practitioners expect to see time to failure models as the statistical method of data analysis. There are two reasons why time to failure models are not used in this study. First, the follow-up period for this study is six years and eight months, which considerably lessens the problem of right-censored status changes. Second, the data for the date of failure is not available for every case.

prison designed to test an inmates religious sincerity). This variable distinguishes the “religious” from the “non-religious” inmate; the “religious” inmates are the group of inmates who score in the top 20% of the instrument scale and meet the church attendance requirement discussed earlier.

Second, earlier research documents that the concept of religion has several different dimensions which could have a unique relationship to deviance (Clear et al., 1992; Cornwall, 1989). It has also been suggested that a single indicator may be a poor predictor of religion (Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1985; Knudten and Knudten, 1971; Tittle and Welch, 1983). Moreover, “multiple dimensional measures of religiousness are generally considered preferable to unidimensional measures because they tap a variety of aspects of religiousness beyond mere participation” (Clear et al., 1992, pg. 10). Therefore, in addition to the overall religiousness measure, this study employed the seven dimensions of religion identified by Comstock (1995) to measure religion. These dimensions basically characterize the major world religions, as well as those religions that have been rejected by mainstream society. These measures were operationalized by multiple indicators which are taken from the “Prisoners Values Survey” measuring numerous aspects of the offender’s intrinsic and extrinsic religious beliefs and practices. The indicators from the “Prisoner Values Survey” were grouped into the analogous dimensions and factored to determine which indicators from the groupings are measuring the scope in question. The first religion measure is the self-reported religiousness measure and the other religion measures are the seven measures of religion developed from the factor analysis.

Religiousness Measure

X₁ Group The religiousness measure which consist of an control and comparison group. This variable has two categories: 0 = religious group and 1 = non-religious group

Religion Measures

 Belief Religious ideas that the offenders hold to be true. The indicators are: 1) I try to bring my religion into all that I do; and 2) My religious beliefs ~~are~~ ~~what~~ really lie behind everything I do. The index ranges from 1 to 10.

X₃ Transcend Religious belief in the "extra-worldly" as a dimension of the holy, the divine, the supernatural, the extra mundane, the world of gods and goddesses, etc. The indicators are: 1) I believe the word of God is revealed in the scriptures; 2) I believe God watches over me and is the one I must answer to; and 3) I believe God showed himself to man through the prophets. The index ranges from 1 to 15.

X₄ History Religious tradition (upbringing) of the offender. The indicators are: 1) Religion was talked about in the home while growing up; and 2) How often the offender attended religious service while growing up. The index ranges from 1 to 3.

X₅ Ritual Religious activities performed by the offender with formal or informal rules or customs which reinforces the offender's religious beliefs and values. The indicators are: 1) During the past year, how often have you gone to services of your religious faith? 2) How often do you study books for other writings about your faith? 3) How often do you read the Scriptures of your faith? 4) How often do you make a contribution to your religious faith? And 5) How often do you take some active part in your religious service: reading, speaking, singing, praying, etc. The index ranges from 4 to 20.

X₆ Periden Religion provides the offender with a sense or purpose and meaning for his life experiences. The indicators are: 1) Religion is most important to me because it gives me a better sense of myself; and 2) Belonging to a religious group gives me a better sense of myself. The index ranges from 1 to 10.

X ₆	Periden	Religion provides the offender with a sense or purpose and meaning for his life experiences. The indicators are: 1) Religion is most important to me because it gives me a better sense of myself; and 2) Belonging to a religious group gives me a better sense of myself. The index ranges from 1 to 10.
X ₇	Morality	Religious doctrine prescribes prescriptions that the offender must do in order to obtain salvation. The indicators are: 1) You have been given the job in the commissary ...other inmate workers made inmate customers pay them to guarantee their orders. How likely would you do this? and 2) Job which gives you the chance to steal things that you can sell for cigarettes. How likely would you do this? The index ranges from 1 to 8.
X ₈	Society	Religion serves to reinforce the unity and stability of society by supporting social control, enhancing established values, and providing a means to overcome guilt and alienation. The indicators are: 1) I keep up with what my religious group is doing and have some influence on its decisions; and 2) Religious services gives me a lot of satisfaction. The index ranges from 1 to 10.

Co-Variates

The co-variates in this study were identified in the literature on (1) religion and (2) failure upon release from prison. The co-variate measures fall into three categories, risk measures, offender characteristics, and prison adjustment. The measures for the co-variates were taken from the self-report pre-release questionnaire and post- release follow-up interview.

Offender Characteristics:

X ₉	Race	The race of the offender. This variable has two categories: 0 = white and 1 = non-white
X ₁₀	Martial	The martial status reported by the offender. This variable has two categories: 0 = non single and 1 = single

X ₁₁	Educate	Self-report educational level of the offender. This variable has two categories: 0 = some high school or less and 1 = completed high school or more
X ₁₂	Faith	The religious affiliation reported by the offender. This variable has two categories: 0 = Protestant and 1 = Non-Protestant

Risk Measures:

X ₁₃	Priors	The total number of prior arrests before the sample sentence. The numbers of arrests range from 0 to 24.
X ₁₄	Length	How much time served on the sample sentence rounded to the nearest month. The numbers of months range from 1 to 245.
X ₁₅	AgeRP	The age of the offender at release from prison on the sample sentence. The average age is 29.
X ₁₆	Offense	The most serious offense the offender was incarcerated for the sample sentence. This variable has three categories: 0 = drug offense, 1 = person offense, and 2 = property offense.

Prison Adjustment:

X ₁₇	Priadjust	Construct which indicates the offender's adjustment to prison. The indicators are: 1) how often do you feel comfortable around inmates here; and 2) how often do you feel uncomfortable around the staff. The index ranges from 2 to 10.
X ₁₈	Esteem	Construct which indicates the offender's level of self-esteem while in prison. The indicators are: 1) I take a positive attitude towards myself; and 2) I am satisfied with myself. The index ranges from 2 to 10.
X ₁₉	Otherpar	Participation in other prison programs by the offender. This variable has two categories: 0 = no and 1 = yes.
X ₂₀	Confine	How many times the offender reported he was placed in disciplinary confinement. This variable has three categories. 0 = none, 1 = 1-2 times, and 2 = 3 or more times.

Data Analysis

Several statistical applications were employed in this study. Below these statistical applications as well as why these techniques were employed are discussed.

Factor Analysis

In this study, factor analysis was employed to examine the relationship among a set of indicators from the "Prisoner Values Survey," to determine the interrelationship among the indicators and define a set of common underlying indicators for each dimension of religion. Factor analysis was also used to identify the structure underlying indicators for the constructs to measure control variables not directly observable. The factors are discussed in Chapter 5.

Multi-variate Analysis

Multivariate analysis was employed, since these statistical methods simultaneously analyze multiple measures on each individual or object under investigation. Moreover, multivariate analysis was used to analyze the relationship between rearrest, the religion dimensions and the control variables. Although, multiple regression is probably the most widely used multi-variate statistical technique, it was not suitable to explain rearrest since it is a non-metric variable. Two popular statistical techniques, discriminant analysis and logistic regression, are more appropriate statistical techniques when the dependent variable is a non-metric value and the independent variables are a combination of metric and non-metric values.

Discriminant analysis is capable of handling a dependent variable with either two or multiple groups, whereas, logistic regression is limited to handling a dependent

variable with two groups. In this study, logistic regression is the more appropriate statistical technique, because the dependent variable, re-arrest, is measured by two categories. Logistic regression is also preferred over Discriminant analysis, because:

1. Discriminant analysis relies on strictly meeting the assumptions of multivariate normality and equal variance-covariance matrices across groups, assumptions that are not met in many situations. However, logistic regression does not face these strict assumptions and is much more robust when these assumptions are not met; and
2. logistic regression is also preferred because it is similar to multiple regression. Both multiple regression and logistic regression have straightforward statistical tests, the ability to incorporate nonlinear effects, and a wide range of diagnostics.

Structural Equation Modeling(SEM)

SEM was employed in this study because of its capability to estimate a series of simultaneous equations because of its ability to handle latent variables (such as religion) within a causal structure. SEM also provided a straightforward method of dealing with multiple relationships simultaneously, while providing statistical efficiency and its ability to assess the relationships comprehensively. Also, SEM provided a transition from exploratory to confirmatory analysis. Likewise, SEM provided the capability to allow some of the independent variables to become dependent variables in subsequent dependence relationships, while these relationships are modeled simultaneously. In addition, SEM provided the ability to incorporate latent variables in the analysis, which is

a hypothesized and unobserved concept that can only be approximated by observable or measurable variables. Finally, SEM provided a measurement model which specify the rules of correspondence between manifest and latent variables. The measurement model provided the opportunity to use one or more variables for a single independent or dependent concept and then estimate (or specify) the reliability. The measurement model, assessed the contribution of each scale item, as well as how well the full scale measures the concept (its reliability).

In this study the dependent variables as well as some of the control variables are non-metric measures. While LISREL is the one of the most popular and most used statistical software to estimate structural equations, it assumes that all measures, including the dependent and independent variables, are metric measures. In this study's database, the dependent variable and some independent variables are non-metric measures. Thus, LISREL was not an appropriate statistical analysis to use, since one of its main assumptions is that all variables are measured at an interval level or higher cannot be meet. Therefore, EQS, another approach of structural equations modeling, analysis of covariance structures, and causal modeling was employed. EQS allows the dependent variable and independent variables to be non-metric as well as metric. Hence, EQS was more suitable for modeling the structural equations in this study than LISREL. EQS, like LISREL, include as special cases many well known conventional techniques, including the general linear model, common factor analysis, measurement model and ability to detect interactions among the variables in the equations.

Summary

This chapter outlined the methodology, to include the study design and sample population used in the present study. The measures for the current study were also identified. Finally, the types of statistical analysis employed to analyze and interpret the results in the next chapter were discussed.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results for the bi-variate analysis, multi-variate analysis, and structural equation modeling of the relationship between religion and re-arrest. The data analysis occurred in two distinct phases. The first phase consisted of a series of bi-variate and multi-variate analyses in which the variables in the study were placed into logical groupings and each model was then estimated on the dependent variable, re-arrest. The second phase consisted of modeling two structural equations. The first structural equation examined the relationship between religiousness, the co-variates, and re-arrest and the second structural equation examined the relationship between the religion measures and re-arrest.

Table 8 presents a description of the database variables. Table 9 presents the descriptive statistics for the non-metric variables in this study. The table indicates that 54 percent of the inmates in the sample are identified as being “religious” and 46 percent as “not religious.” It also reveals that 62 percent of the sample are Protestants and 38 percent are not.

Table 10 presents the descriptive statistics for the metric variables in this study. The results in this table indicate that the average age of the offender at release from the

Table 8: Description of Database Variables

Variable	Description	Variable	Type
Religiousness Measure			
X ₁	Group	Variable	Nonmetric
Religion Measures			
X ₂	Belief	Construct	Metric
X ₃	Transcend	Construct	Metric
X ₄	History	Construct	Metric
X ₅	Ritual	Construct	Metric
X ₆	Periden	Construct	Metric
X ₇	Morality	Construct	Metric
X ₈	Society	Construct	Metric
Offender Characteristics			
X ₉	Race	Variable	Nonmetric
X ₁₀	Martial	Variable	Nonmetric
X ₁₁	Educate	Variable	Nonmetric
X ₁₂	Faith	Variable	Nonmetric
Risk Measures			
X ₁₃	Priors	Variable	Metric
X ₁₄	Length	Variable	Metric
X ₁₅	AgeRP	Variable	Metric
X ₁₆	Offense	Variable	Nonmetric
Prison Adjustment			
X ₁₇	Priadjust	Construct	Metric
X ₁₈	Esteem	Construct	Metric
X ₁₉	Otherpar	Variable	Nonmetric
X ₂₀	Confine	Variable	Nonmetric

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics for Non-Metric Variables

Variable		Frequency	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Group	Religious	173	54.1	54.1
	Non-Religious	147	45.9	100
		320	100	
Faith	Protestant	193	61.9	61.9
	Not - Protestant	119	38.1	100
		312	100	
Marital	Single	202	63.1	63.1
	Not-single	118	36.9	100
		320	100	
Educate	Some high school or less	151	47.5	47.5
	Completed high school or more	167	52.5	100
		318	100	
Race	White	113	35.3	35.3
	Non-White	207	64.7	100
		320	100	
Confine		233	73	73
	None	64	20.1	93.1
	1-2 times	22	6.9	100
	3 or more	319	100	
Otherpar	No	249	78.1	78.1
	Yes	70	21.9	100
		319	100	
Offense	Drug	59	19.6	19.6
	Person	72	23.9	43.5
	Property	170	56.5	100
		301	100	

Table 10: Descriptive Statistics for Metric Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Range Minimum	Range Maximum	Valid N
AgeRP	28.86	7.45	17	59	318
Priors	2.15	3.00	0	24	317
Belief	5.03	1.89	2	10	314
Esteem	3.52	1.74	2	10	313
History	4.82	1.23	2	6	316
Length	24.55	32.99	1	245	302
Morality	6.82	1.52	2	8	314
Periden	4.11	1.75	2	10	316
Priadjust	3.14	2.26	2	10	314
Ritual	13.58	4.14	4	20	309
Society	4.44	1.73	2	10	318
Transcend	4.4	1.95	3	14	317

sample sentence is 29. In addition, the results indicate that the offender has an average of 2 prior arrests and served approximately 24 months on the sample sentence. A majority (56 percent) of offenders in the sample were incarcerated for a property offense, 23 percent had committed a person offense, and 19 percent a drug offense.

Bi-variate Analysis

Table 11 displays the correlation matrix of significant correlated variables with religiousness and re-arrest. The Table shows a number of basic patterns, in which the basic bivariate relationships can be summarized as follows:

- Religiousness is not related to re-arrest ($r = .06, p = .27$).
- The Transcend dimension for the religion construct ($r = .12, p = .02$), Faith ($r = .17, p = .00$), Priors ($r = .16, p = .00$), AgeRP ($r = -.11, p = .05$), and Esteem ($r = .15, p = .00$) are related to re-arrest.
- The religion measures of Belief ($r = .24, p = .00$), Transcend ($r = .22, p = .00$), History ($r = -.14, p = .01$), Ritual ($r = .39, p = .00$), Periden ($r = .24, p = .00$), and Society ($r = .31, p = .00$), Faith ($r = .12, p = .02$), Priors ($r = .11, p = .04$), Esteem ($r = .11, p = .03$), and Otherpar ($r = -.12, p = .02$) are related to religiousness.

The Table also shows a number of basic patterns for the correlations among the religion measures and re-arrest, in which the basic bivariate relationships can be summarized as follows:

- Transcend is related to re-arrest ($r = .12, p = .02$), Belief ($r = .39, p = .00$), Ritual ($r = -.40, p = .00$), Periden ($r = .53, p = .00$), Morality ($r = -.19, p = .00$), and Society ($r = .45, p = .00$).
- History is not related to re-arrest ($r = -.09, p = .10$), but is related to Society ($r = -.16, p = .00$).
- Belief is not related to re-arrest ($r = -.03, p = .53$), but is related to Transcend ($r = .39, p = .00$), Ritual ($r = -.52, p = .00$), Periden ($r = .59, p = .00$), Morality ($r = -.13, p = .01$), and Society ($r = .58, p = .00$).

- Ritual is not related to re-arrest ($r = .06, p = .23$), but is related to Belief ($r = -.52, p = .00$), Transcend ($r = -.40, p = .00$), Periden ($r = -.53, p = .00$), Morality ($r = .13, p = .02$), and Society ($r = -.57, p = .00$).
- Periden is not related to re-arrest ($r = .03, p = .59$), but is related to Belief ($r = .59, p = .00$), Transcend ($r = .53, p = .00$), Ritual ($r = -.53, p = .00$), Morality ($r = -.11, p = .03$), and Society ($r = .62, p = .00$).
- Morality is not related to re-arrest ($r = .06, p = .24$), but is related to Belief ($r = -.13, p = .01$), Transcend ($r = -.19, p = .00$), Ritual ($r = .13, p = .02$), and Society ($r = .19, p = .00$).
- Society is not related to re-arrest ($r = .04, p = .44$), but is related to Belief ($r = .58, p = .00$), Transcend ($r = .45, p = .00$), Ritual ($r = -.57, p = .00$), History ($r = -.16, p = .00$), and Morality ($r = .19, p = .00$).

Because the pattern of these results is consistent with prior studies and with logic, I am encouraged to place confidence in the data, despite the problems of measurement and sampling. There appear to be no inexplicable anomalies in the data that would warn me to disregard the relationships contained within.

Table 12 presents the percentage comparisons of arrests between the “religious” and “non-religious inmates.” The results from the bi-variate analysis indicate a small improvement in the chance for religious inmates not to be re-arrested. However, these results are not statistically significant ($\text{chi-square} = 1.81, p = .27$). In order to investigate this relationship in more detail and determine the relative importance of religiousness independent of other measures, I turn to a series of multi-variate analyses and structural equations modeling to further explore these relationships.

Model Selection Multi-variate Analyses

To estimate the final model several procedures were used. First, the variables, which could not be measured directly, were factored to produce more reliable indicators

measuring the same underlying dimension. Table 13 presents a listing of the indicators used to create the religion measures and the co-variates along with their factor weights.

Second, the variables in the study were grouped into the following logical categories:

- Model 1 - Religion Measures;
- Model 2 - Offender Characteristics;
- Model 3 - Risk Measures; and
- Model 4 - Prison Adjustment Measures.

Table 12: Six Year Arrest Rates For Religious And Non-Religious Inmates Released From Prison in 1991 (N=321)

	RELIGIOUS INMATES	NON-RELIGIOUS INMATES
Arrested	66 %	72%
Not Arrested	34%	28%
	100%	100%

Pearson Chi-Square = 1.181 df - 1 p = .27

Third, a series of models were estimated based on the logical grouping of the variables with the dependent variable. Finally, a fifth model was estimated with significant predictors with a p-value of .10 or less from Models 1-4. In this model two equations were estimated. Equation 1 includes the significant predictors from Models 1-4 and Equation 2 is a re-estimation of Model 1 and includes the religiousness variable (“religious” and “non-religious” inmates).

The discussion of the analysis proceeds in the following manner. First, a discussion entails about the overall fit of the model. The overall fit of the model is assessed by the - 2 log likelihood which is comparable to the F-test in multiple regression. Also, the amount of variance explained in the model is assessed by the Cox

Table 13: Indicators and Factor Weights for the Religion Constructs & Co-variates

Variable Name	Religion Constructs	Factor Weight	Sub-Study	Question Number
	Transcendence Dimension		I	
TRANSCEND	I believe the word of God is revealed in the Scriptures	0.883		PBEL1
	I believe God watches over me and is the one I must answer to	0.873		PBEL2
	I believe God showed himself to man through the prophets	0.798		PBEL3
PERIDEN	Personal Identity Dimension		I	
	Belonging to a religious group gives me a better sense of myself	0.880		PBEL20
SOCIETY	Religion is most important to me because it gives my life meaning	0.880		PBEL22
	Society Dimension		I	
	I keep up with what my religious group is doing and have some influence on its decisions	0.881		PBEL6
	Religious services gives me a lot of satisfaction	0.881		PBEL7
HISTORY	History Dimension		I	
	Religion talked about in home	0.896		Q69AS2
	How often attended religious service while growing up	0.896		Q69BS2
BELIEF	Belief Dimension		I	
	I try to bring religion into all that I do	0.871		PBEL16
	My religious beliefs are what really lie behind everything I do	0.871		PBEL21
MORALITY	Morality Dimension		I	
	You have been given the job in the commissary, other canteen workers made inmates pay them to guarantee their orders. How likely would you do the same?	0.788		PSIT3
	... job which gives you the chance to steal things that you can sell for cigarettes. How likely would you do this?	0.788		PSIT10
RITUAL	Ritual Dimension		I	
	During the past year, how often have you gone to your religious faith?	0.806		PBEL26
	How often do you make contribution to your religious faith?	0.770		PBEL27
	How often do you study books or other writings about your faith?	0.804		PBEL 28
	How often do you read the Scriptures of your faith?			PBEL29
	How often do you take some active part in your religious service: reading, speaking, singing, praying, etc.?	0.851		PBEL33
Variable Name	Co-variates	Factor Weight	Sub-Study	Question Number
	Prison Adjustment		I	
PRIADJUST	How often do you feel uncomfortable around here?	.870		Q16S2
	How often do you feel uncomfortable around the staff?	.870		Q17S2
ESTEEM	Self-Esteem		II	
	I take a positive attitude towards myself.	.845		Q41S2
	I am satisfied with myself.	.845		Q42S2

& Snell R-Square and the Nagelkerke R-Square which are comparable to the coefficient of determination in multiple regression. Second, the findings from the estimated equations are discussed. Finally, there is discussion regarding the testing of the regression assumptions and the necessary corrections made, if applicable. This discussion is presented in Appendix D. The regression assumptions of Non-Normality, Non-Linearity, and No-Heteroskedasticity are robust to logistic regression, therefore are not tested in this study. Additionally, the assumptions of no specification error and no measurement error are normally dealt with at the research design phase, and in most instances is virtually impossible to correct at the data analysis phase. As a result, these assumptions are not tested either. However, the problems associated with these assumptions were discussed in detail in Chapter 4, along with the procedures taken to minimize these problems. Therefore, in this study, for each Model, the regression assumption of No Auto-correlation was tested. No Auto-Correlation means that the error corresponding to an observation is not correlated with any errors for the other observations (Achen, 1982; Berry and Feldman, 1985; Fox, 1991; Lewis-Beck, 1980). The problem of auto-correlation more frequently appears in time series studies which collect data at several points during the research phase. Also, I tested for the absence of perfect multi-collinearity, which means that none of the independent variables are perfectly correlated with another independent variable or linear combination of other independent variables (Achen, 1982; Berry and Feldman, 1985; Fox, 1991; Lewis-Beck, 1980). While not regression assumptions, I also checked for the presence of high multi-collinearity and the presence of outliers in each model since both of these factors

influence the outcome of the regression coefficients.

Phase One Multi-variate Analysis

Table 14 presents the results from Model 1 which consist of the religion measures. In this model the significant predictors are Ritual and Transcend.

Table 14: Religion Measures and Post-Release Community Adjustment (N=294)

Variable	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig	Odds Ratio
Belief	-.1314	.0000	.0940	.16	.12
Morality	-.0724	.0000	.0918	.43	.06
Society	.0546	.0000	.1124	.62	.05
History	-.0773	.0000	.1112	.48	.08
Periden	.0903	.0000	.1155	.43	.09
Transcend	.1805	.0689	.0941	.05	.19
Ritual	.0792	.0671	.0418	.05	.08
Constant	-.0049		1.3607	.99	

Cox and Snell R-Square = .039

Nagelkerke R-Square = .056

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 341.872, with a Chi-Square of 11.726, degrees of freedom of 7, and significance of .10 represents a slightly moderate model fit. The Cox

and Snell R-Square is .039 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .056 which indicate that this model is explaining very little variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the model seems to indicate that while the measures of Transcend and Ritual are related to re-arrest, these variables alone cannot sufficiently explain re-arrest.

Findings

The results in this model indicate that both the Transcend and Ritual religion measures have a positive and statistically significant association with re-arrest. In the bi-variate analysis, the construct Ritual is not related to re-arrest. Since this variable is significant in this multi-variate analysis, this could possibly mean that the relationship between Ritual and re-arrest is suppressed by one or more of the religion measures. Additionally, the Beta indicates that the construct Transcend is more important than any other religion measure in explaining the variance in re-arrest. Moreover, the results indicate that offenders who have a belief in the “extra-worldly” as the holy, the divine, or the supernatural are less likely to be re-arrested. Likewise, participation in religious programs reduces the probability of re-arrest.

Table 15 presents the results from Model 2 which consists of offender characteristics. In this model the significant predictor is Faith.

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 370.033, with a Chi-Square of 10.562, degrees of freedom of 4, and significance of .03 represents a good model fit. The Cox and Snell R-Square is .034 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .048 which indicate that this model is explaining very little variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the

model seems to indicate that while the variable Faith is related to re-arrest, this variable alone cannot sufficiently explain re-arrest.

Table 15: Offender Characteristics and Post-Release Community Adjustment (N=308)

Variable	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio
Faith Protestant	-.7673	-.1253	.2716	.00	.53
Educate Some high school	-.3248	.0000	.2612	.21	.38
Race White	.0266	.0000	.2666	.92	.02
Marital Not-single	-.0918	.0000	.2660	.73	.09
Constant	1.1858		.2984	.00	

Cox and Snell R-Square = .034

Nagelkerke R-Square = .048

Findings

Considering the results in this model, it appears that the offender's religious affiliation has a negative and statistically significant association with re-arrest. Thus, these findings indicate that inmates who identified themselves as being Protestants are less likely than inmates who are not Protestants to be re-arrested. Moreover, Protestants are 53 percent less likely than non-Protestants to be re-arrested.

Table 16 presents the results from Model 3 which consists of the risk measures. In this model the significant predictors are AgeRP and Priors.

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 337.515, with a Chi-Square of 34.013, degrees of freedom of 5, and significance of .00 represents a good model fit. The Cox and Snell R-Square is .109 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .152 which indicates that this model is explaining a moderate amount of the variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the model seems to indicate that the risk measures of Priors and AgeRP are adequately explaining re-arrest.

Table 16: Risk Measures and Post-Release Community Adjustment (N=290)

Variable	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig	Odds Ratio
AgeRP	-.0674	-.1352	.0227	.00	.07
Priors	.3545	.1850	.0924	.00	.42
Offense					
Drug offense	-.0891	.0000	.3729	.42	.09
Person offense	-.3155	.0000	.3446	.81	.33
Length	-.0028	.0000	.0044	.52	.01
Constant	2.2613		.5794	.00	

Cox and Snell R-Square = .109

Nagelkerke R-Square = .152

Findings

Considering the results in this model, it appears that the total number of prior arrests has a positive and statistically significant association with re-arrest. Also, it

appears that the age of the offender at release from the sample sentence has a negative and statistically significant association with re-arrest. The Beta indicates that the total number of prior arrests appear to be the most significant indicator as to whether an offender is likely to be re-arrested, followed by the age of the offender at release from the sample sentence. Moreover, the more prior arrests an offender has, the more probable a re-arrest will occur. Similarly, there is a higher probability for younger offenders to be re-arrested. Hence, having an extensive prior arrest history and being a young offender are significant predictors of recidivism.

Table 17 presents the results from Model 4 which consists of prison adjustment measures. In this model the significant predictor is Esteem.

**Table 17: Prison Adjustment and Post-Release Community Adjustment
(N=304)**

Variable	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig	Odds Ratio
Priadjust	.0178	.0000	.0217	.41	.06
Esteem	.3150	.1537	.0953	.00	.35
Confine					
None	.6323	.0000	.5438	.24	.47
1-2	.0528	.0000	.6080	.93	.06
Otherpar					
No	-.3510	.0000	.2967	.23	.58
Constant	-.7209		1.0846	.50	

Cox and Snell R-Square = .058

Nagelkerke R-Square = .082

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 359.399, with a Chi-Square of 18.222, degrees of freedom of 5, and significance of .00 represents a good model fit. The Cox and Snell R-Square is .058 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .082 which indicates that this model is explaining very little variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the model seems to indicate that while the measure of esteem is related to re-arrest, this variable alone cannot sufficiently explain re-arrest.

Findings

Considering the results in this model, it appears that esteem has a positive and statistically significant association with re-arrest. These findings are interesting, since the results indicate that an offender who feels good about himself is more likely to be re-arrested than offenders with lower levels of self-esteem. Moreover, I would have expected a negative relationship between esteem and re-arrest.

Table 18 presents the results from of the significant predictors from Models 1-4 estimated on re-arrest.

Equation 1

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 306.506, with a Chi-Square of 41.087, degrees of freedom of 6, and significance of .00 represents a good model fit. The Cox and Snell R-Square is .135 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .191 which indicates that this model is explaining a moderate amount of the variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the model seems to indicate these variables are doing an adequate job of

**Table 18. Religiousness and Post Release Community Adjustment
Significant Predictors From Models 1 -4 Without and Without the Religiousness Variable**

Variable	EQUATION 1 N=277					EQUATION 2 N=276				
	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig	Odds Ratio	B	Beta	S.E.	Sig	Odds Ratio
AgeRP	-0.0865	-0.1946	0.0222	0.00	0.09	-0.0881	-0.1958	0.0225	0.00	0.09
Priors	0.2561	0.1436	0.0846	0.00	0.29	0.2606	0.1441	0.0859	0.00	0.29
Faith										
Protestants	-0.4687	-0.0321	0.3502	0.12	0.32	-0.4304	0.0000	0.3069	0.16	0.35
Ritual	0.0909	0.1025	0.0383	0.01	0.09	0.1025	0.1097	0.0413	0.01	0.10
Transcend	0.1902	0.0750	0.0957	0.04	0.20	0.1879	0.0725	0.0961	0.05	0.20
Esteem	0.2418	0.1026	0.1016	0.01	0.27	0.2733	0.1008	0.1011	0.01	0.24
Group						-0.2199	0.0000	0.3114	0.48	0.20
Constant	0.3455		0.9502	0.71		0.3372		0.9529	0.72	
Cox and Snell R-Square = .135 Nagelkerke R-Square = .191						Cox and Snell R-Square = .139 Nagelkerke R-Square = .196				

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explaining re-arrest. While this model indicates more significant predictors of re-arrest than Model 3 which estimates the risk measures, the Cox & Snell and Nagelkerke R-Square explain about the same amount of variance in both, Models 3 and 5.

Findings

The results in Equation 1 are the multi-variate analysis based on the significant predictors estimated in Models 1 - 4. From these estimated equations, the following variables are included in the final model, the constructs for the religion measures of Transcend and Ritual, Faith, AgeRP, Priors, and Esteem. In this model the significant predictors are Ritual, Transcend, Priors, AgeRP, and Esteem. The measure for Faith does not appear to be statistically significant. A detailed discussion of the findings are discussed in the findings section of Equation 2.

Equation 2

Assessing the Overall Model Fit

The - 2 Log likelihood is 304.690, with a Chi-Square of 42.177, degrees of freedom of 7, and significance of .00 represents a good model fit. The Cox and Snell R-Square is .139 and the Nagelkerke R-Square is .196 which indicates that this model is explaining a moderate amount of the variance in the dependent variable. The overall assessment of the model seems to indicate these variables are doing an adequate job of explaining re-arrest. While this model indicates more significant predictors of re-arrest than Model 3 which estimates the risk measures, the Cox & Snell and Nagelkerke R-Square explain the same amount of variance in both, Models 3 and 5.

Findings

The results in Equation 2 are a re-estimation of Equation 1 with the variable for religiousness included in this model. The results in Equation 2 are similar to that of the results obtained in Equation 1 with minor changes in the coefficients. Moreover, as in Equation 1 the significant predictors are Ritual, Transcend, Priors, AgeRP, and Esteem. The measure for Faith is still not significant and the inclusion of the variable Group does not appear to be statistically significant.

The standardized coefficients indicate that the age of the offender at release from prison on the sample sentence appears to be the most significant indicator as to whether an offender is likely to be re-arrested, followed by the total number of prior arrests, then the construct for the religion measure of Ritual, next the construct for the level of self-esteem of the offender, and finally the construct for the religion measure of Transcend. Moreover, these findings reveal that being a young offender, having an extensive prior arrest history, and having a positive self-image are significant predictors of recidivism. As well, the findings indicate that belief in the supernatural and participation in religious programming are also significant predictors of recidivism. The classification of inmates as “religious” and “non-religious,” does not appear to influence re-arrest. Thus, the study results indicate that religiousness does reduce the likelihood that the “religious” inmate will recidivate less frequently than the “non-religious” inmate, however, it does appear that participation in religious programs and the belief in a higher power is related to post-release arrest rates. Moreover, regardless of whether an inmate is “religious” or “not-religious,” the findings indicate that participation in religious programs and the belief in

the supernatural by both the "religious" and "non-religious" inmates influence re-arrest rates. Even though the influence of ritual is present in this multi-variate analysis, this was not the case for the bi-variate analysis; instead, the construct Transcend, was significant in the bi-variate analysis and also the most significant predictor of re-arrest among the religion measures. However, in this Model, Ritual is more of a determinant of re-arrest than Transcend. Thus, it is highly probable (and it follows logic) that the belief in a higher power is reinforced through participation in religious activities, which in turn strengthens, the offender's commitment to established norms and customs. Moreover, it may be possible that Ritual does not have a direct effect on re-arrest, but is an intervening measure which influences other religion measures, which in turn reduces the likelihood of re-arrest. Therefore, it is likely that Ritual affects re-arrest through one or more of the other primary religion measures (Society, Morality, and Periden). It follows then, as depicted in Figure 2 on page 159 of this document, that the secondary measures of religion (Transcend, History, Belief) influence Ritual, which in turn, influences the primary religion measures, which influences re-arrest. In order to ascertain the direct and indirect effects of the religion measures on re-arrest, I attempted to estimate this proposed model in the next section.

Phase Two – Structural Equations Modeling

This section explores the basic patterns between religion, the co-variates, and re-arrest and the relationship among the religion measures and re-arrest through structural equation modeling.

Prior to modeling the structural equations, a factor analysis was conducted to explore the inter-correlations among the indicators for the three groupings of co-variates, offender characteristics, risk, and prison adjustment measures. The factor loadings are specified in Table 19. Table 19 reveals the following patterns in regard to the factor loadings. The offender characteristic measures consist of, Marital, Educate, Race, and Faith. The following variables factored together, Marital, Educate, and Race, although these inter-correlations are relatively modest. The variable Faith did not factor with any of the offender characteristic measures, however, it is the only significant predictor of recidivism in the logistic regression analysis. The risk measures consist of Priors, AgeRP, Offense, and Length. The variables Priors and AgeRP are the only risk measures to factor together and are the only significant predictors of recidivism in the logistic regression analysis. The prison adjustment measures are Esteem, PriAdjust, Confine, and OtherPar. The measures of Esteem and PriAdjust are the only prison adjustment measures to factor together. In the logistic regression analysis, Esteem is the only prison adjustment measure that is a significant predictor of recidivism.

Table 19: Indicators and Factor Weights for the Co-variates

Variable Name	Offender Characteristics	Factor Weight
Marital	Inmate's Self-Report Marital Status	.670
Educate	Inmate's Self-Report Educational Level	-.704
Race	Inmate's Race	.635
Variable Name	Risk Measures	Factor Weight
Priors	Total Number of Prior Arrests	.819
AgeRP	Age at Release from Prison on Sample Sentence	.819
Variable Name	Prison Adjustment Measures	Factor Weight
Esteem	Self-Esteem Indicator	.614
PriAdjust	Prison Adjustment Indicator	.614

Structural Equations Modeling – Model Identification and Fit

Model Identification

In order to estimate a model in EQS, the issues of statistical identification have to be addressed. Moreover, if the model cannot be identified, the parameters are subject to arbitrariness and the attainment of consistent estimates for all parameters makes it impossible for the model to be evaluated empirically (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1998; Mueller, 1994). Structural models may be just-identified, over-identified, or under-identified. A just-identified model is one in which there is a one to one correspondence between the data and structural parameters where the number of data variances and covariances equal the number of parameters to be estimated empirically (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1998; Mueller, 1994). Because there is no degrees of freedom, the just identified model is of no scientific value since it can never be rejected. A model that is under-identified model is one which the number of parameters estimated exceeds the number of variances and covariances empirically (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1998; Mueller, 1994). The under-identified model contains insufficient information for the purpose of attaining a determinable solution of parameter estimates and cannot be evaluated empirically. An over-identified model is one in which the number estimable parameters are less than the number of data points and there is positive degrees of freedom which allows for the rejection of the model empirically (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1998; Mueller, 1994). Therefore, the aim of structural equations is to specify a model such that it meets the criteria of over-identification. The specification of over-identification is a necessary but not sufficient

condition to resolve the issues of statistical identification. In addition, for the model to be over-identified, each factor must have a minimum of two measured variables and at least one of the measured variables for each factor must be estimated freely.

Model Fit

In this study, the model fit is determined by the CFI index, significance level, and standardized residuals. Moreover, a CFI index of .90, a z-score of 1.96 or higher, and standardized residual of .05 or lower indicates a good model fit. The Sortta-Bentler index takes into account sample size and samples in which the residuals are not normally distributed (Bentler, 1995; Byrne, 1994). Therefore, the Sortta-Bentler nonnormed fit index is used to assess the goodness of fit since some of the variables in both models are categorical or ordinal and in all likelihood, the residuals are not normally distributed.

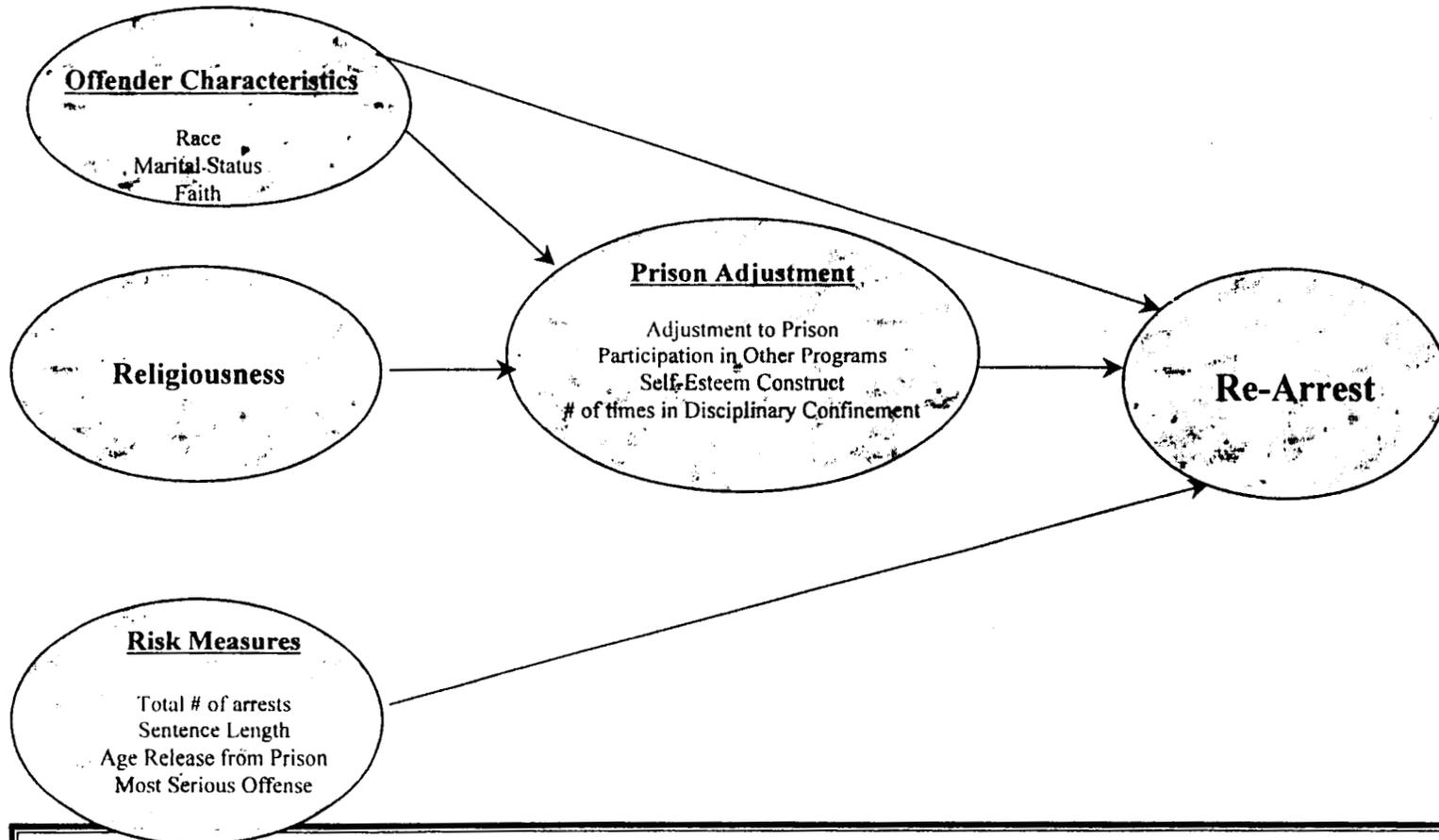
Phase Two - Structural Equation Modeling Analysis

This study attempted to estimate two structural equations using EQS, since this structural equations software has the capability to handle dichotomous and categorical variables. Both models meet the specified criteria for statistical identification.

Figure 1

Figure 1 is the conceptual model of the relationship between among religiousness, the co-variates (offender characteristics, risk measures, and prison adjustment measures), and re-arrest.

The estimated model produced a Sortta-Bentler nonnormed fit index of .283 and an average absolute standardized residual of .21 which indicates that the data fits the



Conceptual Model of Religiousness, Offender Characteristics, Prison Adjustment, and Risk Measures and Post-Release Re-Arrest Rates

Figure 1

model very poorly. The p-value of .01 indicates that the data fit the model, however, the attainment of statistical significance may be a result of sample size, since models with more than 200 observations are considered large, and this study has 321 observations. Additionally, an error message in the print out results warn that this model may be under-identified, therefore the results should not be trusted. A re-estimation of this model based on the recommended changes, produced a similar error message and model fit indices.⁷

Thus, it appears that this data do not fit the model well and therefore cannot empirically be evaluated. Failure to obtain an over-identified model may be explained by examination of the correlation matrix in Table 11. First, the correlation matrix indicates that the offender characteristic measures of Race, Marital, and Educate are weakly related to re-arrest and are not statistically significant. Second, the correlation matrix indicates that the risk measures of Length and Offense are weakly related to re-arrest and are not statistically significant. Third, the correlation matrix indicates that the prison adjustment measures of Priadjust, Otherpar, and Confine are weakly related to re-arrest and are not statistically significant. Therefore, although the model meets the criteria specified for statistical identification, since the correlations for some of the measured variables is weak and not related to the dependent variable, the data do not fit the model well which results in the model being under-identified (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1996).

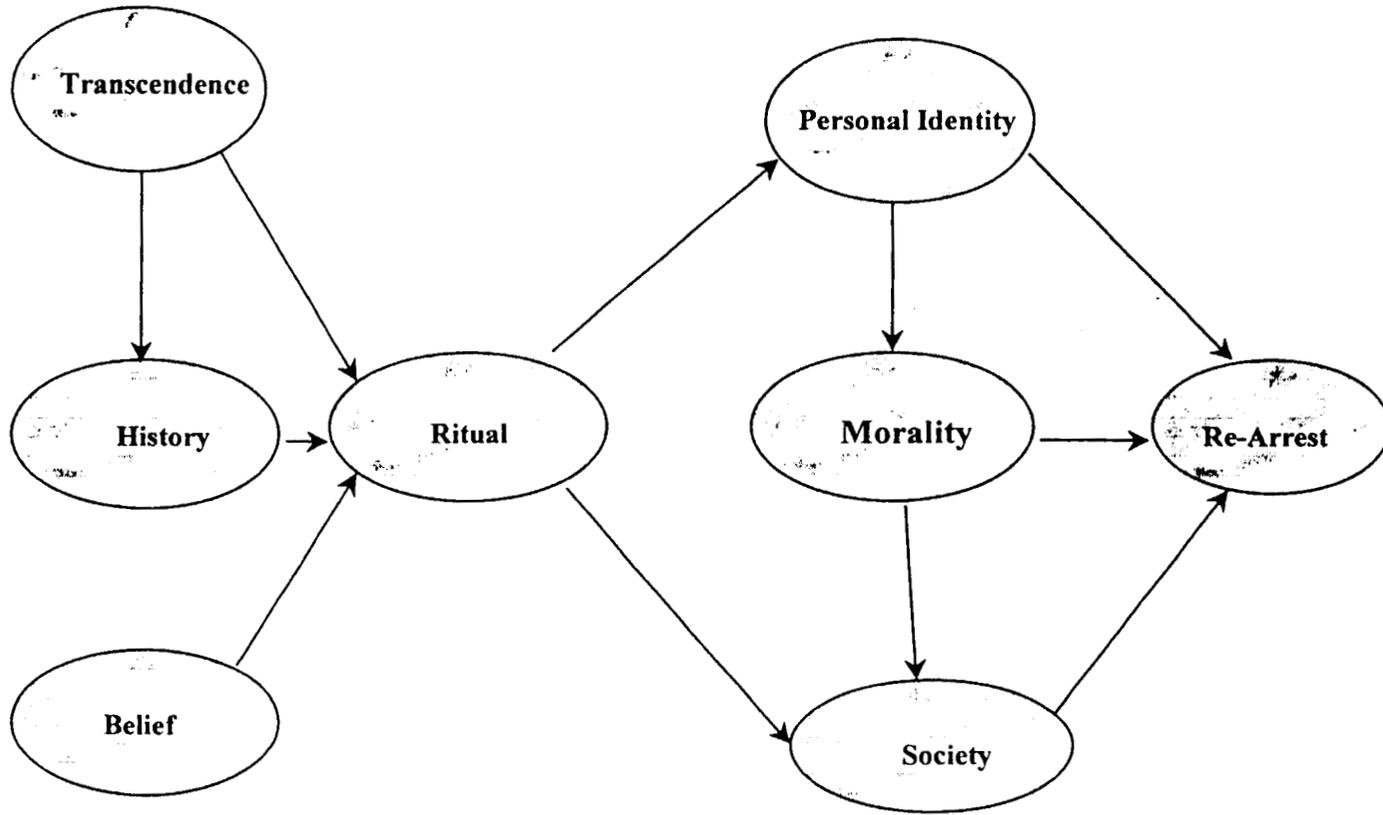
⁷ EQS program lists the 20 largest standardized residuals and designates which pair of variables are involved. Two modification indexes were used to correct the model fit based on the standardized residuals. The Lagrange Multiplier (LMTTest) approximated the amount by which the models overall chi-square would decrease by estimating fix parameters freely. The Wald (W statistic) estimated the amount of the models overall chi-square would increase if a recommended parameter were fixed to zero (i.e., dropped from the model).

Figure 2

Figure 2 is the conceptual model of the relationship between the religion measures and re-arrest. The estimated model produced a Sortta-Bentler nonnormed fit index of .356 and an average absolute standardized residual of .06 which indicates that the data fit the model very poorly. The p-value of .00 indicates that the model is significant, however, the attainment of statistical significance may once again be a result of sample size. Additionally, an error message in the print out results warn that the model may be under-identified.

A re-estimation of the model based on the recommended changes produced a similar error message and model fit indices.⁸ Thus, it appears that this data do not fit the model well and therefore cannot empirically be evaluated. Again, failure to obtain an over-identified model may be explained by examination of the input correlation matrix, which indicates that the correlations among the religion measures (factors) and re-arrest are weak and are not related to re-arrest, with the exception of the religion measure, Transcend. Therefore, the non-existent relationship between the religion measures and re-arrest contributes to the data not fitting the model well, which results in the model being under-identified (Bryne, 1994; Kline, 1996).

⁸ EQS program lists the 20 largest standardized residuals and designates which pair of variables are involved. Two modification indexes were used to correct the model fit based on the standardized residuals. The Langrange Multiplier (LMTTest) approximated the amount by which the models overall chi-square would decrease by estimating fix parameters freely. The Wald (W statistic) estimated the amount of the models overall chi-square would increase if a recommended parameter were fixed to zero (i.e., dropped from the model).



Conceptual Model of Religion Measures and Re-Arrest

Figure 2

These analyses indicate that the data for this study are not sufficient to estimate the proposed conceptual structural models using EQS software. Therefore, the discussion of results in the next chapter is limited to discussing the logistic regression results. Although the data in this study do not appear to fit the proposed conceptual structural models, more precise indicators for the religion measures and co-variables may lead to statistical identification. This issue is discussed in the next chapter under the sections of limitations of current research and implications for future research.

Summary of Finding

The results in this chapter indicate that being a young offender, having an extensive prior arrest history, and having a positive self-image appear to be significant predictors of recidivism. Additionally, the findings indicate that belief in the supernatural and participation in religious programs also appear to be significant predictors of recidivism. Finally, based on the classification of inmates as “religious” and “non-religious” the results do not indicate any difference in the recidivism rates among these two groups.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter begins with a discussion of the results presented in Chapter 5 and attempts to interpret this information as it relates to the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. Then the limitations of the current research are discussed. Finally the implications of these study results for future research is addressed.

This study has explored the relationship between an inmate's religiousness and their post-release community adjustment. The sample consisted of 321 male inmates who were serving time in twelve prisons scattered throughout the country. The discussion of the data analysis focuses on the logistic regression analyses, since statistical identification was not obtained for the two theoretically specified structural equations. The logistic regression analyses consisted of estimating a series of equations in which variables in the study were placed into logical groupings and each model was then estimated on the dependent variable of re-arrest.

The first model estimated the impact of religion measures on re-arrest. Here the religion measures of Belief, Society, Personal Identity, Morality, and History were not found to be statistically significant. In contrast, the religion measures of Transcend and Ritual were statistically significant, with Transcend being the most important determinant

of recidivism. These results may be explained by findings from the Clear et al. (1992) study which reveals that many of the inmates spoke of being "born again" and consistently spoke of the presence of God in their lives, who they believed was now in control of their lives. This presence of God resulted in a more personal relationship with Him, which in turn increased their self-awareness and sense of personal power. According to these inmates, religion provided them with the opportunity to atone for their past misdeeds and seek forgiveness from God, which gave their life a new meaning. This belief in God was strengthened and reinforced through ritual participation in various religious sacraments and activities. Moreover, participation in religious programs reinforced and strengthened the inmate's religious commitment and belief, which in turn, sanctified the established norms of conventional society. Hence, religious teaching delineated the moral prescriptions the inmates are expected to live by. The inmates began to accept responsibility for their past misbehavior, thereby, beginning the process of reconciliation with circumstances and events that lead to their criminal activity. It appears then that religion helps inmates to understand their shortcomings and provides them with a sense of purpose and direction to live a more fulfilling, productive, law abiding life.

The second model estimated the impact of the offender characteristic measures on re-arrest. In this model, the offender characteristics of race, marital status, and educational level were not found to be statistically significant, however, faith appears to be statistically significant. These results indicate that offenders who identified themselves as being Protestants were less likely to recidivate than offenders who were not Protestants. This finding may also be explained by the Clear et al. (1992) study which revealed that in the

prison setting, the Pentecostal religion orientations tended to ameliorate the prison environment. In the prisons that were studied, the religious orientation of Christians appeared to be orthodox and doctrinaire. Thus, inmates attended church service, prayer meetings, evening Bible study, and musical performances, as prescribed by their religious doctrine. It may be possible that the strong moral and ethical tone of Christian fundamentalist which encourage literal interpretation of the Bible and strict adherence to legal and moral codes fostered movement away from criminal activity.

The third model estimated the impact of the risk measures on re-arrest. In this model, the risk measures for the most serious offense inmates were incarcerated and the length of time served on the sample sentence were not statistically significant. Risk measures of the age of the offender at release from the sample sentence and the total number of prior arrests were statistically significant, which is consistent with findings from prior research and theory. Moreover, the reduction in arrest rates for released inmates are largely the result of maturation effects in which case as inmates get older, they burn out and are unable to maintain their previous lifestyles (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Irvin and Austin, 1997). Crime rates increase rapidly during early adolescence, peak in the teenage years, and gradually and steadily decline thereafter, a process described by as the aging-out phenomenon. Crime decreases with age, the researchers add, even among people who commit frequent offenses. They argue that all offenders commit fewer crimes, as they grow older because they have less strength, less mobility, and so on. These findings may also be explained by a lack of maturity on behalf of young offenders who may not have yet experienced the suffering and humiliation the more seasoned and experience

offender has. Therefore, the young offenders have not fully internalized the harsh realities of prison life. Finally, these findings may be explained by the inexperience of the young offenders who are more apt to commit crimes such as purse snatching or drug offenses and commit more crimes in groups, which are more easily detectable.

The fourth model estimated the impact of the prison adjustment measures on re-arrest. In this model, the prison adjustment measures for the number of disciplinary confinements, the prison adjustment construct, and participation in other prison programs, were not statistically significant. However, the prison adjustment measure of self-esteem was statistically significant. These findings may also be explained by the findings from the Clear et al. (1992) study. Moreover, these findings are perhaps a reflection of increased self-worth and awareness the inmate experienced, as a result of his spiritual development and involvement in religious activities. It may be that religion provided the inmate an with an opportunity to deal with core issues that lead his current situation, which in turn, facilitated the development of a sense of inner peace and a greater sense of self-worth. These inmate characteristics differed significantly from those traits initially exhibited when they were first incarcerated.

The final logistic regression model consisted of the significant predictors from Models 1 - 4, Ritual, Transcend, AgeRP, Priors, Faith, and Esteem, along with the measure for religiousness, and re-arrest. Overall, the results indicate that the total number of prior arrests and age of the offender at release from the sample sentence are the most significant predictors of recidivism, with the age of the offender at release from the sample sentence being the most important determinant of recidivism. Another significant finding was that

inmates with higher levels of self-esteem were more likely to be re-arrested than inmates with lower levels of self-esteem. The results also indicate that a significant relationship exists between belief in the supernatural and participation in religious programs and post-release community adjustment. Moreover, increasing participation in religious programs, as measured by a self-report questionnaire, was associated with lower levels of re-arrest rates, as measured by official FBI criminal history reports. Similarly, an inmate's belief in the supernatural (as measured by the same self-report questionnaire), is also significantly related to the number of times the inmate was re-arrested. Thus, higher levels of religious participation and belief in the supernatural are associated with fewer post-release arrests. However, the results indicated no difference in the recidivism rates of "religious" and "non-religious" inmates.

The research results provided by this study are consistent with the empirical studies assessed since 1985, which provide evidence of a relationship between religion and deviance. Like these other studies, the findings here indicate that religious participation (which is operationalized in this study as Ritual) and belief in God (which is operationalized in this study as Transcendence) are associated with deviant/criminal behavior. Also, like the empirical studies assessed since 1985, these findings indicate that Ritual is the most significant determinant of re-arrest among the religion measures.

Although, these research findings indicate that Ritual and Transcendence are significant predictors of re-arrest, these measures were not the most important determinants of re-arrest. However, the findings provide evidence that this relationship between religion and deviance is not spurious or inconclusive as suggested by some

criminologists. Moreover, even when controlling for the risk measures (AgeRP and Priors) and the offender characteristic measure of Esteem, the effects of the religion measures do not diminish. Not only do the effects of the measure remain in the multivariate analysis when controlling for other factors, but, contrary to what some criminologists have argued, the effects are not weak to moderate, at least for the measure of Ritual. Moreover, in the final equation, the p-value for Ritual is .01 which indicates that these results are not weak, and therefore, not inconclusive.

Policy Implications

The findings from this study indicate that religious programs should be considered as a potential tool of rehabilitation, since religious practice and belief is important is related to the re-arrest rates of prisoners whether they are classified as being “religious” or “non-religious.” However, the findings do not provide support for making administrative decisions such as early release, parole release, work release advancement, or custody advancement on the basis of an inmate’s claim of religiousness since this classification does not predict program success.

Limitations of this Research

As with any research project, there are caveats to consider before drawing conclusions from the study results. Therefore, some qualifications of the findings are in order. These are related to the research design and measurement limitations. First, it is not known to what extent the sample is representative of prison inmates generally, or the

generalizability of the study findings to populations other than those being studied. Even though the original research team succeeded in obtaining highly comparable groups of “religious” and “non-religious” inmates from a geographically diverse sample of prisons, the generalizability of the final sample of inmates from the earlier study has four main limitations. First, the purposive sampling procedure used to select the institutions and inmate volunteers in the earlier study by Clear et al. (1992), decreases the generalizability of findings to populations other than those being studied. All of the prisons included in the study were purposefully chosen, because they had active religious programs. Second, study subjects were not randomly selected, but rather volunteered to participate in the project. The sample, with the exception of one facility, also excluded inmates who were housed in segregation units. Also, since the “non-religious” are selected for participation in the study on the basis that they did not score within the top 20th percentile of the “Prisoner Values Survey,” they did not meet the church attendance criterion, and they are a match for the religious inmate based on the five factors used by the researchers. Because the “non-religious” inmates were matched on key study variables, it is possible that these inmates are not representative of the general prison population of “non-religious inmates.” Third, a large percentage of the inmates in the final sample came from a single Southern prison. Fourth, another limitation is quite obvious. This study was limited to male prisoners, and would clearly not be generalizable to populations of female inmates.

Second, there are limitations to the validity of my religion measures. The indicators for the religion constructs were taken from the “Prisoner Values Survey” in

which the data were collected prior to the operationalization of these constructs. Although these indicators factored out from a larger group of indicators, it may be possible that the indicators used in this study are not the best measures of religion. Therefore, future research in this area should attempt to develop more precise indicators for the religion constructs which may increase the likelihood that in addition to the religion measures of Ritual and Transcend, other religion measures may also prove to be statistically significant.

Third, as with any longitudinal study, it was not possible for Clear et al. to conduct a follow-up interview on all of the inmates who participated in their original study. This was the case because inmates did not give researchers adequate phone numbers or their telephones had been disconnected. The researchers also attempted to follow-up by mail, however this effort did not prove entirely successful either. Among those inmates who participated in the follow-up interview, it was not possible to obtain an official FBI criminal history report on all of them, either because they did not have an FBI number or because the FBI could not locate their record. In many of these cases, the problem could have resulted because the state where they were incarcerated did not submit criminal history information to the FBI.

Last, any findings generated by this study could be subject to various interpretations, since it is not possible to rule out all possible alternative explanations. Moreover, not all theoretically relevant control variables are included in the model. The researcher did attempt to include those variables which had been identified in research, as

being related to both recidivism and religion that may account for a reduction in recidivism rates.

These limitations undoubtedly affect the generalizability of the study findings. Nevertheless, this study was designed to minimize these threats to internal and external validity, by selecting highly comparable groups of “religious” and “non-religious” inmates from a geographically diverse sample of prisons. Since it is not feasible to obtain a fully representative sample of all persons active in religious programs in the United States, these weaknesses in the sample can not be eliminated in any study of the general impact of religious participation in prison. However, the extent to which the study sample is representative of prison inmates generally and extent to which study findings are generalizable to other prisons and inmates, are not known.

Even so, the reported results suggest that religious belief and behavior appear to predict recidivism, even though these measures are not the most important determinants of re-arrest. However, these findings provide a foundation for further theorizing as to how and why religion is able to influence post-release community adjustment. Finally, this study addresses the issue of causal order, since the religiousness measure and religion measures were collected prior to the failure measure.

Implications for Future Research

In this study, the writer has developed a framework for understanding why and how religion influences the recidivism rates of inmates. This model is relatively comprehensive and attempts to capture the complexities involved in defining, understanding and measuring religious commitment, as well as recognizing the interplay that varies between the religion

measures. Further development and refinement of this framework are necessary, however. The model is tested based on prior data collection of the indicators used to measure religion in this study. The indicators were taken from the "Prisoner Values Survey," a religiousness instrument used by Clear et al. (1992), to determine if an inmate's religiousness influenced their prison adjustment. Although the religiousness instrument is comprehensive, encompassing more than 100 indicators to measure the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations of an inmate's religiousness, the data were not collected for the seven of the measures of religion in this study. Therefore, similar analysis for each of the religion constructs based on the findings from this study and our theoretical understanding of the religion dimensions, are needed to support and enhance this framework. The development of more precise indicators for the religion constructs and co-variables may also increase the likelihood that the conceptual structural models identified on pages 156 and 159 fit the data better, leading to the statistical identification of these models. This makes it possible to empirically evaluate the models and to explore the causal nature of the relationship between the religion measures and post-release community adjustment. Afterwards, it may be possible to propose a conceptual model to determine how relevant co-variables interact with the religion measures and post-release community adjustment.

Female offenders constitute the fastest growing segment of the criminal justice system, their incarceration rates now almost doubling those of male offenders (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998). Research also indicates that approximately 80 percent of the female prison population are single parents who are the primary caregivers for their dependents (Ryan, 1995). Ryan also documents that females respond differently to

rehabilitative programs than do males, and in some instances they are more amendable to rehabilitative programs. This is especially true if the rehabilitative programs are designed to address some of the special issues encountered by females and are not based on traditional male models. Ryan (1995) argues that those rehabilitative programs that have been designed on the basis of the traditional male models may not produce positive outcomes, and, they may not be suitable for female offenders. In addition, in recent years criminologists have begun to argue that the findings from studies that only consist of male subjects may not be generalizable to female offenders. For that reason, future research in this area should attempt to include female inmates in the sample to determine if religion also influences the post-release community adjustment of female offenders. Regardless of the outcome, the research will be beneficial in determining how and why there are gender differences in response to religious rehabilitative programs. Understanding these factors may lead to the development and administration of sound religious programs for the prison setting, based on theory and research.

The original research team included twenty prisons from different regions of the country, as well as various security and custody levels in their study. The findings from this study, however are based primarily on the responses of inmates in a single Southern prison. Future research efforts should attempt to broaden the diversity of prisons included in the study, in order to increase the probability that the findings can be generalized to a broader range of prisons and inmates. Prior to the design of any future research study in this area, it will be beneficial for researchers to explore and understand the problems encountered by Clear et al. in attempting to obtain a diverse sample of offenders in institutions from

different segments of the country. Understanding these problems may assist in increasing the probability of broadening the diversity of prisons in future research studies of this nature.

The majority of study subjects consisted of inmates who identified themselves as being Christians. While a majority of the prison population consists of inmates who profess to be Christians, only studying these groups limits our understanding of the nature of religion in prison. Future research efforts should employ non-probability quota samples to ensure that the proportion of religious affiliations in the sample resembles those in the prison population. If these populations are small in number, it may be necessary to obtain samples in which inmates who claim affiliation with the minority religions in the prison setting are over sampled.

Finally, this research was a before-after design and was not designed to test a specific theory. While the findings support theoretical perspectives, such as these identified as functionalists, social control, or differential association, this study did not specifically test any single criminological theory. Future research in this area should be based on a sound theoretical framework. Additionally, more precise indicators of religious commitment should be developed based on the theoretical framework that will guide the research and the understanding of different religion measures. It would also be beneficial to include indicators to measure the religious upbringing and religiousness of inmates prior to their incarceration. This process could contribute to understanding the developmental aspect of religion and also explore the notion that religious interest and observance in the prison setting as a major turning point in the offender's life. Developmental studies could also

capture the gradual growth process of spiritual development instead of assuming that becoming religious results in an immediate change of behavior, as the traditional criminological theories seem to stress. Finally, the developmental theories are more suitable to exploring the relationship between religion and deviance since these theories emphasize that multiple social, personal, and economic factors influence criminality and that as these factors change over time, so does criminal involvement. Thus, while research may support the hypothesis that religion is an inhibitor of criminality, the theoretical premise should be based on the understanding that religion, along with other structural, economic, social, individual factors and possibly the behavior of law enforcement, together influence the post-release community adjustment of offenders.

Conclusion

In the past several decades, increased attention has been paid to the possibility of religion reducing criminal behavior and recidivism rates among inmates (Clear et al., 1992; Johnson, 1984, 1987; Johnson et al., 1997; O'Connor, 1996). A growing body of research suggests that religion decreases the risk of deviant behavior (Ellis, 1985; Johnson, 1984; Sumter and Clear, 1998; Title and Welch, 1983). This relationship is of special concern to criminologists, correctional administrators, and public policy officials, who continue to search for ways to deal with the enormous problem of recidivism among former inmates. One response has been to find rehabilitation effects in the form of programs such as vocational training, job enhancement skills, educational enhancement, self-betterment programs, and recently, religion.

This study has examined the impact of prisoners' religiousness on their post-release community adjustment. In the multi-variate analyses, the following variables were found to be significantly related to successful community adjustment: the total number of prior arrests, the age of the offender at release from the sample sentence, participation in religious programs, the level of self-esteem of the offender, and the belief in the supernatural. Variables that were not significantly related to successful community adjustment included the religious constructs of Belief, Morality, Society, History, and Personal Identity. Also, the educational status of the inmate, his race, and his marital status, were not statistically significant. In addition, the length of time served on the sample sentence or the most serious offense the inmate had been incarcerated, were not statistically significant. Finally, the prison adjustment construct, participation in other prison programs, or the number of disciplinary confinements, were not statistically significant.

Overall, the multi-variate analyses indicate that being a young offender, having a high level of self-esteem, and having an extensive prior arrest history, are significant predictors of recidivism. Also, a relationship appears to exist between participation in religious programs and belief in the supernatural and post-release community adjustment. Those inmates who report higher levels of religious participation and belief in the supernatural were less likely to be arrested after release from the sample sentence, whether classified "religious" or "non-religious." The analyses indicate very little difference in the overall reduction of recidivism for inmates based on the classification as "religious" or "non-religious." Moreover, there is a small, but greater chance for "non-religious" inmates to be arrested than "religious inmates," but this difference is not statistically significant.

Based on these results, it is clear that the classification of religiousness of an offender does not influence recidivism. Considering these findings, it cannot be concluded that religiousness influence the recidivism rate of the offenders in this study. This is perhaps because the religiousness measure is a self-reported measure and that it does not actually measure religion. This assumption is supported by a visual inspection of the correlation matrix, which indicates that the religiousness measure is barely correlated with other religion measures and the variable, Faith.

Therefore, these findings indicate that religious programs may be important in the prison setting and should be considered as a potential rehabilitation tool for all inmates. However, administrative decisions such as early release, parole release, or work release or custody advancement, should not be made on the basis of an inmate claiming to be religious, since this classification does not appear to predict program success.

APPENDIX A

Kleck, G. (1997)

Format for summaries of empirical research reports

Author(s) date - other bibliographic information should be noted here.

Method

Hypothesis (list more than one, if there are several)

Independent variables(s)/Operational definitions(s)

(1)

(2)

(3)

Dependent variable(s)/Operational definitions(s)

(1)

(2)

(3)

Findings (What relationship of variables was observed?)

Controlled extraneous variables (note the ones you consider important)

Uncontrolled extraneous variables/alternative explanations

(1)

(2)

Sample/population sampled

Sampling biases

Interactions studied

Conclusion(s) of author(s)

Format for summaries of empirical research reports - Religiosity and Deviance
Sumter, M. (1997)

-
1. Major category/topic of dependent variable(s)?
 - A. General Delinquency_____
 - B. Ascetic Delinquency_____
 - C. Both_____
 - D. Other_____
 2. Number of dependent variables?_____
 3. Principle variable of interest?_____
 4. What type of relationship was found for the principle variable of interest?
 5. Number of independent variables?
 6. Did the study use multiple measures of religiosity?_____
 7. Types of religiosity measured?
 - A. Religious participation_____
 - B. Religious salience_____
 - C. Religious activities_____
 - D. Hellfire belief_____
 - E. Peer religiosity_____
 - F. Parental religiosity_____
 - G. Religious affiliation_____
 - H. Religious devotion/beliefs_____
 8. Was criminological theory tested?_____
 9. What type of theory was tested?_____
 10. Then number of control variables?_____
 11. Was there a distinction between adults victimless and victim offenses?_____
 12. Did the study focus on adults, adolescents, or both?_____
 13. Did the study construct temporal order?_____

14. Did the study test major religious denominations? _____

15. What region did the study examine?

- A. North _____
- B. South _____
- C. East _____
- D. West _____
- E. All _____
- F. Other _____
- G. Missing _____

16. Was an inverse relationship observed for religiosity and deviance? _____

17. What was the strength of the relationship?

- A. Small _____
- B. Moderate _____
- C. Strong _____
- D. Not known _____
- E. Other _____

18. Type of statistical analysis used?

- A. Bivariate only _____
- B. Multivariate only _____
- C. Logistic regression only _____
- D. Correlations only _____
- E. Percentages only _____
- F. Other _____

19. Type of population analysis?

- A. Individual
- B. Aggregate

20. Additional comments.

APPENDIX B

Global Measures of Religiosity Used for Studies Which did not Support an Association Between Religion and Deviance

Johnson 1984

Global Measure
Believe in God
Believe in the Bible
Jesus Christ is your Personal Savior
Conversion Experience

Benda 1995

Global Measure
Church attendance
Time in prayer
Study the bible
Activity in church
Financial contribution
Share joys and problems of religious life
Talk about religion with family and friends
Try to convert someone

Ross 1994

Global Measure
Ritual Religiosity
Consequential Religiosity
Ideological Religiosity
Experiential Religiosity

Evans et al. 1995

Global Measure
Religious Activity
Religious Salience
Hellfire Beliefs

Benda 1997

Global Measure
Church attendance
Time in prayer
Study the bible
Activity in church
Financial contribution
Share joys and problems of religious life
Talk about religion with family and friends
Try to convert someone

APPENDIX D

Regression Assumptions

Religion Measures

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 1 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.664 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.592 and the upper of limit of 1.757. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. Although the tolerance level for the constructs of History and Morality are close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not indicate that these measures are highly correlated among each other or the other religion constructs.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Belief	.547	1.829
Transcend	.665	1.504
History	.964	1.037
Ritual	.586	1.707
Periden	.443	2.255
Morality	.945	1.058
Society	.479	2.086

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.

Offender Characteristics

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 2 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.649 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.623 and the upper of limit of 1.725. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. While the tolerance level for these measures are close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not reveal a high amount of correlation among these measures.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Race	.954	1.048
Marital	.947	1.056
Educate	.937	1.068
Faith	.999	1.001

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.

Risk Measures

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 3 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.694 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.623 and the upper limit of 1.725. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. Even though the tolerance level for the variable offense is close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not indicate that this variable is highly correlated with any of the other risk measures.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Priors	.860	1.162
Length	.886	1.129
AgeRP	.711	1.406
Offense	.902	1.109

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.

Prison Adjustment Measures

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 1 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.696 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.623

and the upper of limit of 1.725. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. Although the tolerance level for esteem is close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not indicate that this variable is highly correlated with any of the other prison adjustment measures.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Otherpar	.547	1.829
Confine	.665	1.504
Esteem	.964	1.037
PriAdjust	.586	1.707

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.

Significant Predicators from Models 1 - 4

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 5 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.687 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.603 and the upper of limit of 1.757. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. While the construct esteem and the variable faith tolerance level is close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not indicate that these measures are highly correlated among each other or the other measures in the equation.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Ritual	.833	1.201
Transcend	.781	1.280
AgeRP	.864	1.158
Priors	.795	1.258
Esteem	.956	1.046
Faith	.910	1.099

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.

Significant Predictors from Models 1 – 4 with the Religiousness variable

Visual inspection of the correlation matrix in Table 11 does not indicate perfect collinearity since none of the independent variables in Model 5 are perfectly correlated with the other independent variables. A Durbin Watson test statistic of 1.692 does not indicate the presence of auto-correlation since it falls between the lower limit of 1.592 and the upper limit of 1.757. The collinearity statistics, Tolerance Level and Variance Inflation Factor do not indicate a problem of high multi-collinearity among the independent variables in this Model. Although the tolerance level for the construct esteem and the variable faith are close to 1.00, the correlation matrix does not indicate that these measures are highly correlated among each other or the other measures in the equation.

	Tolerance Level	Variance Inflation Factor
Ritual	.717	1.394
Transcend	.779	1.284
AgeRP	.857	1.166
Priors	.774	1.291

Esteem	.956	1.046
Faith	.910	1.100
Group	.786	1.272

Finally, none of the residuals fall outside the boundaries of - 3 and + 3 standard deviations from the mean which indicates that no outliers or influential observations are present.



APPENDIX E

Office of the Vice President
for Research
Tallahassee, Florida 32306-2811
(850) 644-5260 • FAX (850) 644-4392

APPROVAL MEMORANDUM from the Human Subjects Committee

Date: January 24, 1999

From: David Quadagno, Chair

DQ/1/99

To: Melvina Sumter

Durham, NC 27713

Dept: Criminology and Criminal Justice

Re: Use of Human subjects in Research

Project entitled: Religioness and Post-Related Community Adjustment

The forms that you submitted to this office in regard to the use of human subjects in the proposal referenced above have been reviewed by the Secretary, the Chair, and two members of the Human Subjects Committee. Your project is determined to be exempt per 45 CFR § 46.101(b)4 and has been approved by an accelerated review process.

The Human Subjects Committee has not evaluated your proposal for scientific merit, except to weigh the risk to the human participants and the aspects of the proposal related to potential risk and benefit. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals which may be required.

If the project has not been completed by January 24, 2000 you must request renewed approval for continuation of the project.

You are advised that any change in protocol in this project must be approved by resubmission of the project to the Committee for approval. Also, the principal investigator must promptly report, in writing, any unexpected problems causing risks to research subjects or others.

By copy of this memorandum, the chairman of your department and/or your major professor is reminded that he/she is responsible for being informed concerning research projects involving human subjects in the department, and should review protocols of such investigations as often as needed to insure that the project is being conducted in compliance with our institution and with DHHS regulations.

This institution has an Assurance on file with the Office for Protection from Research Risks. The Assurance Number is M1339.

cc: T. Clear
APPLICATION NO. 99.018

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